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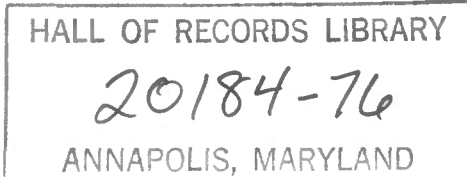
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E 20 PHOENIX LINE, "SAFETY COACHES." [—] BY BELTZHOOVER & CO. RUNNING BETWEEN W[ASHINGTON AND BALTIM]ORE. TIME 5 HOURS. M. SWETT, INVT. ET DEL. LITH OF ENDICOTT & SWETT, N.Y. Baltimore and Washington offices with addresses and names of agents listed in bottom margin. Road sign reads, TO WASH. 10 MS. Lettering on coach door reads, NO. 10 BELTZHOOVER & CO [?]. ** Lithograph, hand colored, 23.3 x 41.5 cm. MdHi.

Coach No. 10 of the Phoenix Line is approaching the end of a run to Washington from Baltimore in 1831. The sign post states that the coach is ten miles from Washington, close to what is now Beltsville. The trip to Washington took five hours. The proprietor of the stage line was George Beltzhoover who also managed several hotels in Baltimore. This view, drawn by Moses Swett, points out one of the discomforts of stage travel, the dust raised by the horses. Stage travel flourished between Washington and Baltimore from 1825 to 1835, and Beltzhoover opened his Phoenix Line in the early 1830s. But the era of stagecoaches was short-lived, for the opening of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Washington in 1835 provided a more convenient mode of passenger travel.

"Baltimore-Washington Stage-Coach," p. 1; Holmes, "Stage-coach Days," pp. 29-30.



The Architect of Calverton

PAUL F. NORTON

MARYLAND WAS FOUNDED AS AN ENGLISH COLONY IN 1634 BY CECILIUS Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, but the town of Baltimore was not laid out until nearly one hundred years later, in 1729. One of the Maryland properties owned by the lords Baltimore was a tract of 320 acres about two and one-half miles west of the center of Baltimore on the Frederick Turnpike.¹ It was called Calverton after the family name. At the death of Frederick Calvert, seventh Lord Baltimore, in 1771, the title became extinct and the land apparently passed into other hands.

Wealthy Dennis A. Smith, a merchant and Cashier of the Mechanics' Bank of Baltimore, bought the property in 1815. He immediately built a country mansion in the midst of grounds carefully landscaped in the English manner. The purpose of this article is to present my conclusions as to whom Smith hired as his architect.

When Thomas H. Poppleton's large map of Baltimore was first printed in 1823 the engraver included on its periphery a vignette of Calverton Mansion (Fig. 1) with the inscription "R. C. Long Arch^t 1815 Cost 40,000 D." One year later, in his *Annals of Baltimore* Thomas Griffith also asserted without any apparent doubt that the architect was Robert Cary Long, Sr. After these categorical statements, no one seems to have had any opinion until Talbot Hamlin mentioned J. J. Ramée as designer of the "estate," but without any justification,² and Rich Bornemann wrote an article in 1954 wherein he recognized the influence of French architecture, particularly that of Ledoux, on certain early nineteenth-century American buildings.³ Seeing that Calverton qualified as French-connected, Bornemann "wonders" whether Ramée had anything to do with the design. Most recently, in his unpublished thesis, Roy Graham directly attributes the mansion to Ramée.⁴ But why should not someone have attributed the design to Robert Mills, or to Benjamin Latrobe and Maximilian Godefroy, who, like Ramée, knew Parisian architecture very well and were working in Baltimore at this very moment on plans for the Exchange Building?

The best remaining view of Calverton as built is a photograph taken about 1874 (Fig. 2) showing the unfortunate ravages of the preceding sixty years.⁵ Its outstanding feature is the two-story portico raised like the rest of the building on a visible stone foundation. At the forward corners are giant, square pillars and matching pilasters against the wall. These support an unusual segmental, arched ceiling which rises through the pediment. The height of the portico produced such a vast entrance space that the designer chose to break it visually by joining the pillars and pilasters near midpoint with a horizontal entablature which

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FIGURE 1.
 Calverton, elevation as Alms House. Vignette from the Poppleton Map of 1823. Courtesy, Peale Museum, Baltimore.



FIGURE 2.
 Calverton. Photograph ca. 1874. Courtesy, Peale Museum, Baltimore.

repeats the crowning entablature at a slightly reduced scale. This entablature supported a sculptured figure, possibly carved by Antonio Capellano, one of the Italians brought to work at the Capitol in Washington.⁶ Originally there was a broad frontal staircase of stone upon which a pair of columns fully sixteen feet in height were centrally placed and three-quarter columns attached at four other positions. While two-story segmental wings project laterally, the rear of the portico has a contrasting curved recess. Other less singular features were a cupola with a surrounding balustrade on a low-hipped roof and circular attic-story windows. Octagonal wings, connected to the main building by covered passageways, neatly balanced the composition by keeping the great bulk of the central structure (55' wide by 53' deep) from dominating the landscape. These adjoining octagons had their own cupolas scaled to their smaller size. The exterior walls were "of stone rough cast."⁷

It can plainly be seen by the bold inscription across the lower entablature which reads "Hebrew Orphan Asylum" that an extraordinary alternative use was made of the mansion. In fact it was only for a short time that Dennis Smith lived at Calverton, for his bank soon failed, forcing him to sell his property. Thus the Poppleton Map of 1823 labels Smith's mansion "Alms House", and it includes the east and west extensions to the mansion (Fig. 1) said to have been begun in 1820 and designed by J. Moreton, architect, each 130' wide and 40' deep.⁸ The Alms House was opened for 533 paupers in December 1822. The change of use is described by the historian Scharf as "a striking commentary on the mutability of human affairs."

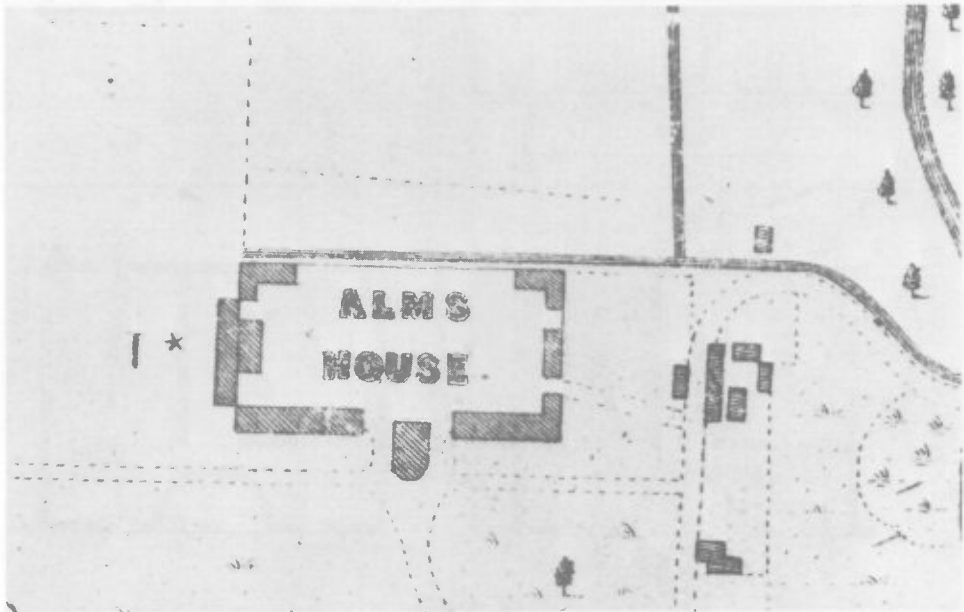


FIGURE 3.

Calverton, plan as Alms House. Detail from the Poppleton Map, edition of 1852. Calverton Mansion is the central, rounded building. The extensions to its left and right correspond to the elevations shown in Figure 1. The additional buildings were erected later. Courtesy, Peale Museum, Baltimore.

The several buildings continued in use as an alms house until 1865 when the total number of paupers had reached 800 (Fig. 3). The following year the property was subdivided and sold in separate lots.⁹ In 1872 the buildings were donated to the Hebrew Benevolent Society which promptly made renovations for use again as an asylum. But in less than two years the entire institution burned to the ground, thus obliterating all architectural evidence.

As already mentioned, there has been uncertainty as to the identity of the designer of Calverton. The only contemporary sources name Robert Cary Long, Sr. as the architect. Yet it seems highly unlikely that Long, the local Baltimore carpenter-builder, who eventually assumed the title of architect, would have produced such a sophisticated French design, particularly without having previously built anything like it. Poppleton's Map is not without other problematic

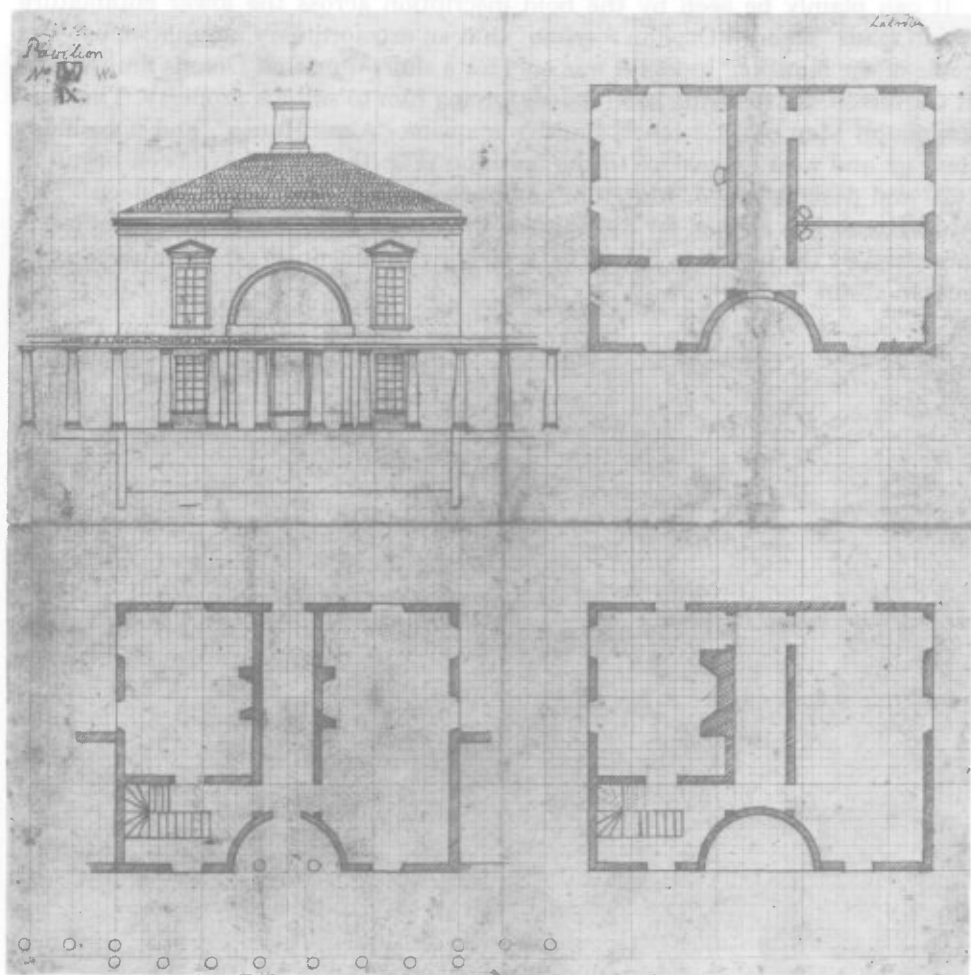


FIGURE 4.

Pavilion IX, University of Virginia, Charlottesville. Jefferson's drawing. Ground-floor plan and elevation. Courtesy, University of Virginia.



FIGURE 5.

Hôtel Guimard, Paris, 1770–72. Architect, N.-C. Ledoux. From Ledoux, *L'architecture*.

attributions, for it labels the vignette of Godefroy's Masonic Hall as by "J. Small Arch."¹⁰ Yet, why should Long have been mentioned at all in relation to Calverton?

B. H. Latrobe was working on drawings for the Capitol at this time and frequently travelled to Baltimore to confer with his partner Godefroy about submitting drawings for the new Exchange. Unlike Long, Latrobe had not only seen French architecture himself but used Ledoux-inspired forms for some of his own projects such as his design for a pavilion at Jefferson's university at Charlottesville (Fig. 4).¹¹ The columnar front, partially screening the arched and recessed portico, surely resembles Ledoux's Hôtel Guimard which Latrobe could not have failed to see on his visit to Paris in 1783 (Fig. 5).¹² However, a letter of Latrobe's to Dennis Smith eliminates him as the architect for he praises Smith's "encouragement" of the arts and recommends George Bridport as an interior decorator in such a way that he could have had no part in the original design.¹³ Furthermore, Latrobe kept copies of all his letters at this time, and there are no others which mention Calverton.

Robert Mills moved to Baltimore in 1814 to oversee the construction of the Washington Monument. He had designed Washington Hall at Philadelphia in 1809, which resembled Ledoux's work,¹⁴ but his love of the Greek orders and fully rounded arches does not fit with the ornamentation of Calverton's façade.

This leaves the two Frenchmen—Godefroy and Ramée—as the men most likely to have carried on the architectural traditions of the nation in which they received their training, and to which they both returned from a frontier country



FIGURE 6.

Masonic Hall, Baltimore, 1813–14, by M. Godefroy. Vignette from the Poppleton Map of 1823. Courtesy, Peale Museum, Baltimore.

where neither of them felt fully accepted. Godefroy, never mentioned by anyone as a candidate for Calverton's design, was nevertheless quite capable of it as his Masonic Hall in Baltimore clearly shows (Fig. 6). Here are several motifs—particularly the deep-arched portico with a statue balanced on the intermediate entablature—which makes it at least a cousin to Calverton. However, there are differences, like the Greek Doric Order rather than the Tuscan and a single-plane facade rather than a projecting portico. Aside from details of the design itself, the most telling objection to selecting Godefroy is that while the decision was being made as to whose design should be accepted for the Baltimore Exchange, Dennis Smith, owner of Calverton, backed Ramée against both Latrobe and Godefroy. It is inconceivable that Smith in the very same year of 1815 would have both desired and rejected designs by the same man. Latrobe in a letter to his associate makes this even clearer when he says to Godefroy, "If our friends can outvote Ramée's, that is Parishes, or Mills', that is Gilmore's, then we shall carry it . . .".¹⁵ The reference to Ramée's friends as those of David Parish includes Dennis Smith because it was Parish who introduced Ramée to Smith.

Finally, we have remaining Joseph Jacques Ramée, who came to America in September 1812, encouraged by David Parish's grand scheme to develop a large tract of land along the St. Lawrence River in the wilds of northern New York State. But it was not a propitious time for colonizing the wilderness so that Ramée, who had brought his family from Europe, was compelled to seek employment elsewhere. Parish assisted greatly by introducing the architect to Eliphalet Nott, President of Union College, who promptly commissioned Ramée to design his new campus at Schenectady. Parish then introduced the architect to his

Baltimore business friends and in particular Dennis Smith. Ramée assuredly made the landscape plans of Calverton as his engraved view of the estate proves (Fig. 7). This fact has never been questioned. Whether he was also the designer of the mansion is the problem.

In January 1816, Parish wrote to Dennis Smith saying, "Mr. Ramée has shown me the plan of your Country House &c. with which we are all highly pleased here."¹⁶ And the following June Parish again wrote to Smith saying that he had paid Ramée's bill and debited Smith's account in the amount of \$1,500. Although Parish does not expressly state that the money is in payment for house plans, it is in line with the four per cent fee on a \$40,000 project which was frequently charged at this time. By comparing Calverton with other work by Ramée, such as the drawing he made for a house (Fig. 8), we can see the similarly raised, projecting portico with its central entablature and segmental arch rising into the pediment. Also similar is Ramée's Bourse at Hamburg (Fig. 9), which Parish knew very well because he first met the architect in that city. A detail taken from Ramée's landscape design for Calverton shows a strong correspondence with the plan (Fig. 10) which would be produced by the elevation in our photograph (Fig. 2).

Thus it would seem from the evidence that Ramée was surely the architect were it not for two important points. First, the persistent connection in printed sources of R. C. Long, Sr. with Calverton; and second, the bothersome, small-scale, dentil moulding running beneath the eaves and the graceless column capitals for which there is no precedent in Ramée's work. Since Ramée was hoping to stay in America, he had to seek more employment than the planning of an occasional country house. He therefore bought a business in Philadelphia with a Mr. Virchaux for the manufacturing of wallpaper. In late 1815 and into January of 1816 Ramée was with his family in Baltimore,¹⁷ at which time he and Smith would have consulted on final plans for the mansion. By the middle of the month he had returned with his family to Philadelphia. Did Ramée ever again go to Philadelphia? Very likely he did not, for no letters confirm his presence there and he soon left America forever.

Prior to the construction of Calverton, the Mechanics' Bank of Baltimore had hired R. C. Long, Sr. to erect a new building. Dennis Smith, as the bank's cashier, was well acquainted with Long's ability. Thus, when Ramée was no longer available to supervise construction, Smith must have hired Long to build Calverton from Ramée's plans. The discrepancies between the actual ornamentation and that which Ramée would have approved are therefore owing to changes Long made which he believed were appropriate.¹⁸ This would account also for Long's name being so definitely connected with the project by Poppleton and Griffith who were living in the same city with Long whose architectural career had by no means ended. Long was therefore the builder and modifier, not the architect.

The handsomest, most complete view of Calverton, and one which clinches the design as Ramée's, is the small vignette on the title-page of a book illustrating some of Ramée's projects (Fig. 11).¹⁹ Here the building is shown as originally intended—well-proportioned, connected conveniently with octagonal wings, and displaying the horizontal banding characteristic of many Ramée designs. No architect of stature would embellish the title-page of his own book with an illustration of another architect's work.

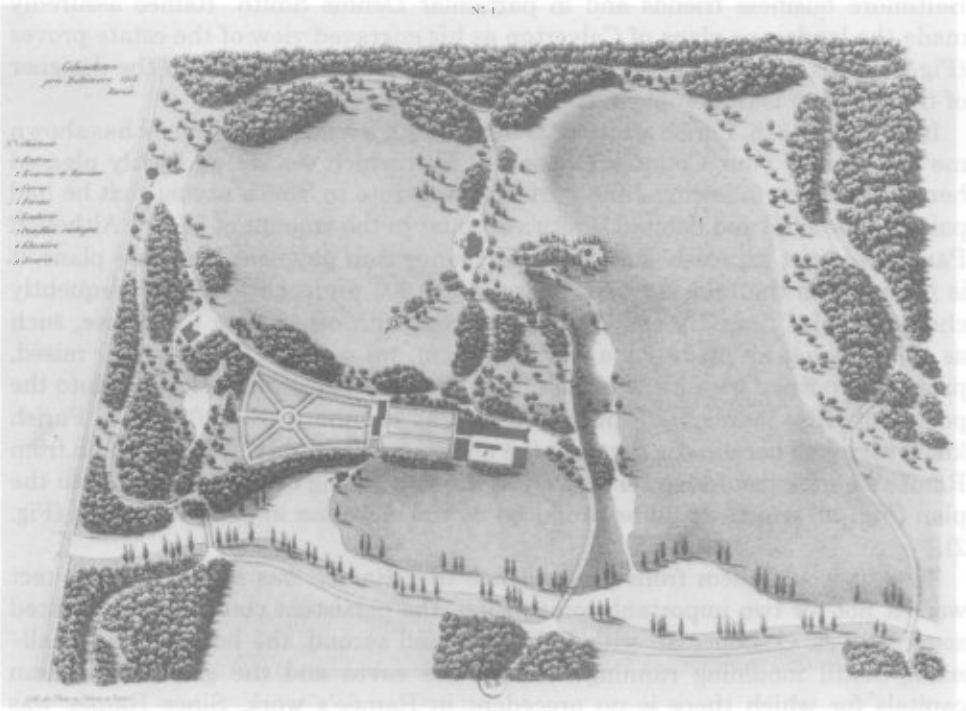


FIGURE 7.
Calverton. Landscape plan by Ramée, 1815. From J. J. Ramée, *Parcs et Jardins composés et exécutés dans différentes contrées . . .* (Paris, n.d.).

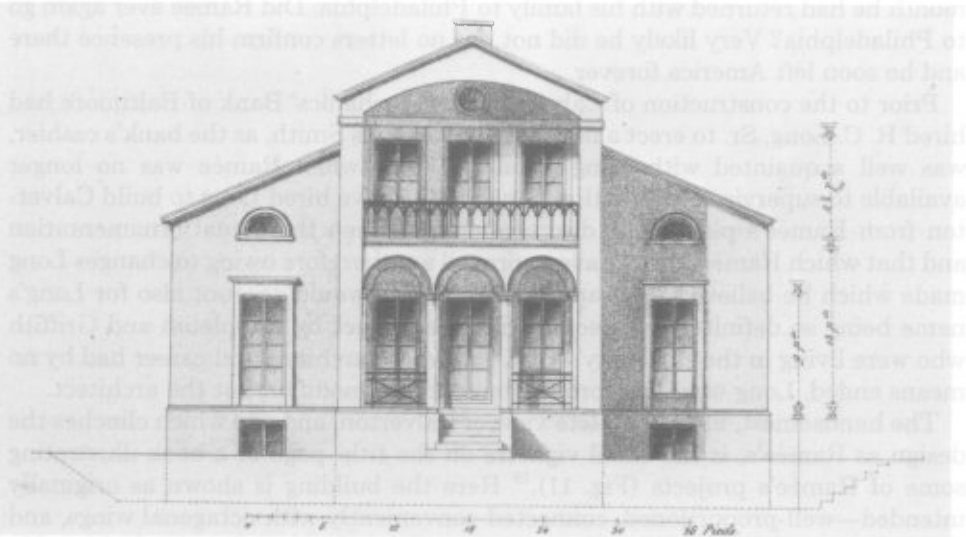


FIGURE 8.
Elevation of a country house by Ramée. From Ramée, *Recueil de Cottages*.



FIGURE 9.
Bourse, Hamburg, Germany. By Ramée, 1803–04. From Victor Dirksen, *Ein Jahrhundert Hamburg 1800–1900* (München, 1924).

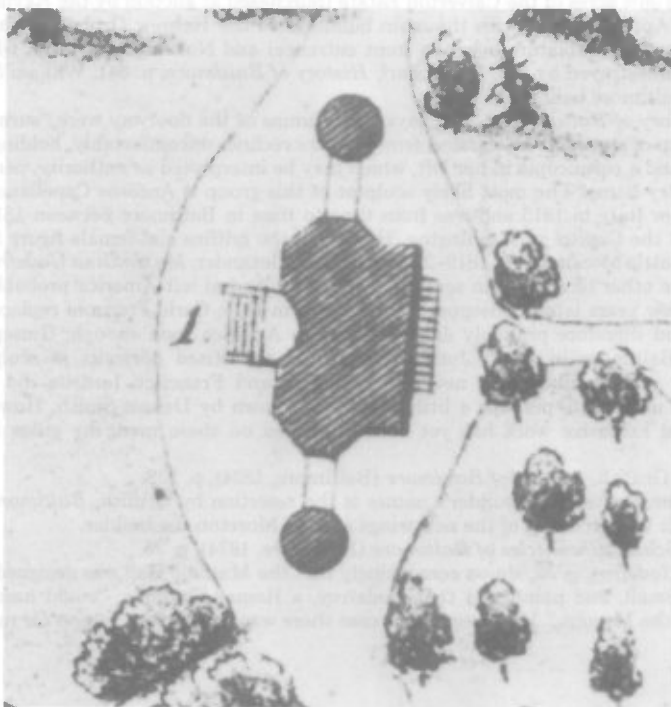


FIGURE 10.
Calverton. Detail from Ramée's landscape plan (FIG. 7).



FIGURE 11.
Calverton. Vignette from Ramée, *Recueil de Cottages*.

REFERENCES

1. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County, Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 840.
2. Talbot F. Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (London, 1944), p. 41.
3. Rich Bornemann, "Some Ledoux-inspired Buildings in America," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 13 (March 1954): 15-17.
4. Roy E. Graham, "Joseph Jacques Ramée and the French Emigré Architects in America" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1969).
5. The photograph was taken sometime between November 1, 1872, when Mr. and Mrs. William S. Rayner gave 36½ acres of the Calverton Estate (purchased at auction by the Rayners and James Bromell on April 18, 1866) with the main buildings to the Hebrew Orphan Asylum (the name displayed on the entablature over the front entrance) and November 12, 1874, when the entire building was destroyed by fire. See Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, p. 841. William S. Rayner was a wealthy Baltimore banker.
6. Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, p. 935, says the columns of the doorway were "surmounted by an elegant group of statuary." A classical female figure reclines uncomfortably, holding a staff in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left, which may be interpreted as authority, peace and plenty in our country home! The most likely sculptor of this group is Antonio Capellano who came to America from Italy in 1815 and was from time to time in Baltimore between 1815-1817, while employed at the Capitol in Washington. He carved the griffins and female figure for Godefroy's Baltimore Battle Monument in 1819-22. See Robert Alexander, *Maximilian Godefroy* (Baltimore, 1974). Of the other likely Italian sculptors, Giovanni Andrei left America probably in 1815 and returned a few years later; Giuseppe Franzoni died in 1815; Carlo Franzoni replaced his brother Giuseppe and therefore probably did not arrive in America soon enough; Giuseppe Valaperta arrived in Baltimore in about June of 1815, and advertised portraits in sculpture, but he disappeared in December 1816 never to reappear; and Francisco Iardella did not arrive in Washington until 1816, perhaps a little late to be known by Dennis Smith. However, since no accurate and extensive work has yet been published on these men, my guess is that it was Capellano.
7. Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), p. 238.
8. Adding to the confusion of builder's names is the assertion by Griffith, *Baltimore*, p. 238, that John Sinclair was architect of the new wings and W. Moreton the builder.
9. J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 75.
10. Alexander, *Godefroy*, p. 82, shows convincingly that the Masonic Hall was designed by Godefroy, not Jacob Small, and points out that Godefroy, a Roman Catholic, "could hardly have been honored by the Masons." However, in our case there was no religious reason for naming Long as architect.

11. Fiske Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect* (Boston, 1916), p. 201, says pavilions III and IV, "must be the ones taken from Latrobe's sketches." He also states on p. 77, that "The two pavilions in which an extensive and literal following of Latrobe's suggestions might be suspected are Nos. VIII and X." But he adds, "pavilions VI and IX, . . . scarcely require the supposition of any external influence for their general forms, though the great niche doorway of No. IX seems to have been suggested by Latrobe." William Pierson, *American Buildings, Colonial and Neo-Classical* (Garden City, N.Y., 1970), says Jefferson was very clever in introducing a radical and contemporary design for pavilion IX. Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), p. 469, says that probably pavilions V, VIII and X are by Latrobe, and does not mention pavilion IX. Only Frederick Nichols, *Thomas Jefferson's Architectural Drawings* (Charlottesville, Va., 1961), p. 40, noticed on Jefferson's drawing for pavilion IX that Jefferson had written "Latrobe". And in his introduction to the reprint of Kimball, *Jefferson* (New York, 1968), p. ix, he says that Latrobe's "influence is apparent, particularly on" pavilion IX. See also the notes by Nichols in *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson*, W. H. Adams ed., (Washington, D.C., 1976), p. 293. Presumably it was Jefferson who selected the Ionic Order of the Temple of Fortuna Virilis for the columns at the alcove entrance to pavilion IX and added the second-story windows.
12. Latrobe may also have seen C.-N. Ledoux, *L'architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art*, . . . , 2 vols. (Paris, 1804), where the Hôtel Guimard is illustrated. A copy was in the Baltimore Library Company.
13. Latrobe to Dennis A. Smith, September 21, 1816, Latrobe Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.
14. Washington Hall, Philadelphia, is illustrated in George B. Tatum, *Penn's Great Town* (Philadelphia, 1961), plate 53.
15. Latrobe to Godefroy, July 19, 1815, Latrobe Papers.
16. David Parish to Dennis A. Smith, January 20, 1816, Parish Letterbooks, New-York Historical Society, New York.
17. David Parish to Dennis A. Smith, January 12, 1816, Parish Letterbooks.
18. Close stylistic comparison is difficult to make at this time as apparently no one has published anything extensive with illustrations on R. C. Long, Sr. Robert Alexander's article "The Union Bank, by Long after Soane," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23 (October 1963): 135-138, has an indistinct photograph of the Union Bank whose entablature does resemble that of Calverton's portico. Richard H. Howland and Eleanor Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 54-59, has some information on Long and several plates. *American Architect and Building News* 1 (January 24, 1876): 207, has a belated obituary notice. Long died in 1835!
19. Joseph Ramée, *Recueil de Cottages et Maisons de Campagne* (Paris: n.d.).

Maryland's "Time of Troubles": Sources of Political Disorder in Early St. Mary's

RUSSELL R. MENARD

"ALL OF THE SETTLERS IN WHATEVER COLONY," BERNARD BAILYN HAS observed, "presumed a fundamental relationship between social structure and political authority. Drawing on a common medieval heritage, continuing to conceive of society as a hierarchial unit, its parts justly and naturally separated into inferior and superior levels, they assumed that superiority was indivisible; there was not one hierarchy for political matters, another for social purposes."¹ If the settlers of early St. Mary's shared these attitudes, they were not disappointed. There was no confusion over the nature of leadership, no uncertainty about the identity of leaders in the province. The men who held positions of power in the colony's government were the men who dominated the local economy, whose names were distinguished by titles of respect, and who had the benefits of a classical education. Leonard Calvert, Giles Brent, Thomas Cornwallis, John Lewger, John Langford, Thomas Gerard, and William Blount monopolized wealth, education, social position, and political power in early Maryland. Their political authority was but a particular expression of a generalized social authority. As representatives of the upper levels of English society, they were well equipped to create a traditional polity in Maryland, one in which ordinary settlers would defer to the new society's natural leaders.²

By placing power in the hands of such men, recent scholarship on colonial politics suggests, Lord Baltimore met an essential requirement of political stability and took an important step toward implementing his vision of a hierarchic, stratified, well-ordered society in early St. Mary's. However, the first decade of Maryland's history was marked by nearly continuous conflict culminating in a complete political collapse in the mid-1640s. Most prominently, Lord Baltimore fought for the survival of his colony against a diverse group of merchants and planters associated with Virginia, a battle that centered on the contest with William Claiborne for control of Kent Island. Calvert also engaged in a long, bitter struggle with the Jesuits over the rights of the Church in Maryland, and fought with other adventurers over constitutional issues, the fur trade, and Indian policy. Religious hostility between Catholics and Protestants also flared up occasionally at St. Mary's. In addition, the colony was plagued by struggles

Professor Menard has published numerous articles about early Maryland in this and other historical journals.

among the gentry for power, profit, and preeminence and between the government and the more ordinary settlers over a variety of issues, particularly Indian policy and taxation. These conflicts were not minor disagreements occurring within an essentially stable political order. Rather, they were disruptive, debilitating struggles that often shook the government to its foundations. At the end of the first decade of settlement, Maryland's survival as a distinct political entity was not assured.

Why was the polity so fragile? Why were political struggles so intense, so disruptive of daily life? What made the anarchy of the mid-1640s possible? These are difficult questions and fully satisfying answers are perhaps unobtainable. However, such questions do suggest useful lines of inquiry that can reveal much about the social basis of politics, the nature of political legitimacy, and the sources of tension in a New World community.

Political stability—"the acceptance by society of its political institutions, and of those classes of men or officials who control them"—was rare in the pre-industrial West.³ Even Stuart England with its firmly rooted traditions and relatively stable social structure was racked by violent political strife, revolution, and civil war. Political stability was not the normal social condition; it is not surprising that colonists found it difficult to create "well-ordered" communities, that it took time for stable government to emerge along the Chesapeake.

The newness of the society militated against political stability in early St. Mary's. Men previously unknown to each other found themselves thrown together in a colony, forced to organize a community and maintain social discipline in a strange environment. Their experience as Englishmen guided their actions. They had long traditions and firmly established customs that governed relations among men to draw upon. In the main, that experience served them well; it accounts for much of the success they did attain. Paradoxically, however, in certain respects their experience was not well suited to the tasks confronting them.

In seventeenth-century England social behavior was legitimated largely by tradition. The political order, the institutional structure, and the rules governing human relationships were seen as timeless: men behaved as their forebears had since time immemorial. It was also a society of rapid change and innovation. Families rose and declined, old institutions were altered and new ones created. But change was not elevated into a positive ideology. Social mobility took place along established lines without undermining the hierarchial organization of society or the deference owed those at the top by those at the bottom. Innovation in institutions and changes in political behavior were justified by the introduction of precedents and by appeals to a more perfect past.⁴

Marylanders may have expected to order their lives in a traditional fashion, but it proved difficult to transplant traditionally sanctioned institutions to a colony. To do so they had to make a series of conscious decisions about a complex pattern of relationships that could be taken for granted in England. They had to agree on what traditional behavior constituted; they had to erect old institutions anew in an unfamiliar setting. Tradition, in short, had to be interpreted. Small wonder the colonists soon fell to arguing.

The need to interpret and transplant tradition led to a vast expansion of the role of government in society.⁵ What had evolved gradually over centuries in

England had to be created almost overnight in Maryland. In the issues they considered, the Assemblies of the first decade were more like constitutional conventions than simple legislative meetings. Issues as fundamental to daily life as the organization and administration of justice, church-state relations, the sources of law, the system of inheritance, debtor-creditor relations, land policy, the regulation of tobacco production, and relations with the Indians were discussed and voted upon. Indeed, the very structure of government, particularly the powers of the Assembly and the rights of the proprietor, became the subject of contention. The stakes were high and the issues hotly contested.⁶

It was necessary that the settlers of early St. Mary's work together if the process of creating a well-ordered society was to succeed. Without widespread agreement it was nearly impossible to implement decisions, for the Governor and Council possessed only a limited ability to enforce unpopular policy. Perhaps it was in recognition of the need for cooperation that several of the early Assemblies were opened to attendance by all resident freemen. Those institutions, procedures, and policies on which there was general consensus worked effectively. The method of adjudicating debtor-creditor relations, for example, a crucial matter in an economy that relied heavily on credit, operated without serious problem, as did the systems of land distribution and probate. On other matters, such as tax assessment and collection and Indian policy, disagreements among the settlers made the enforcement of decisions difficult.⁷

Religious differences among the settlers of early St. Mary's helped make cooperation elusive. However, relations between Protestant and Catholic *within* the colony were surprisingly smooth during the first decade. Protestants, who made up about three-fourths of the population, may have resented Jesuit successes in converting "heretics" and Catholic domination of the government, but their resentment seldom surfaced before the middle 1640s.⁸ There were a few minor incidents, occasional incendiary rumors (that the Jesuits wished the Indians success in "cutting off virginia," for example), and some rash statements, but none of these disrupted public life in the colony. The government acted with vigor and intelligence to contain potential conflict, particularly to insure that the rights of Protestants were not violated.⁹ Essentially, however, they were engaged in a holding action. The government suppressed conflict but did nothing to encourage cooperation except insofar as the fair treatment of Protestants in St. Mary's served to demonstrate that Catholics could be trusted with power. Eventually, teaching by example did have some success, but it was a slow process, far from complete in the 1640s. Protestant-Catholic conflict remained a potentially disruptive force in Maryland politics at the end of the first decade.¹⁰

Relative harmony between Protestant and Catholic did not mean an absence of religious conflict, however, for there was a serious division among Maryland Catholics. Although Lord Baltimore did not have a fully developed position on toleration and church-state relations in the 1630s, he was clearly in the tradition of spiritual or sectarian Catholicism, emphasizing the private aspects of his faith and rejecting the temporal claims of the Church.¹¹ The Jesuits, on the other hand, perhaps more firmly than any other group of English Catholics, still upheld the exclusive, churchly pretensions of the Counter-Reformation. A bitter conflict ensued—more bitter because neither side realized at first the extent of their

disagreement and both felt betrayed—as the differences between Baltimore and the Jesuits gradually emerged in the New World. As a result of the conflict, which produced, incidentally, a debate as sophisticated and far reaching as any conducted in New England, Baltimore, with the help of his Maryland Secretary, John Lewger, brought new precision to his understanding of the proper relationship between church and state.¹²

A full description of the controversy is beyond the scope of this essay, but the source of the conflict and the aims of the contestants can be stated briefly. The Jesuits had no intention of accepting the status of a minority sect without special privileges in a colony governed by Catholics, but that was precisely the role Baltimore planned for them. They had more grandiose hopes for the Church in Maryland, visions of a semi-autonomous Catholic community of English colonists and Indians living on Jesuit-owned manorial estates governed by ecclesiastical courts and exempt from the taxation and much of the jurisdiction of the civil government. Baltimore, infuriated by what he considered “demands of very extravagant priviledges,” quashed the vision, in part because it limited his sovereignty, threatened his precarious political position in England, and promised to inflame anti-Catholic sentiment among Protestant colonists, but also because those hopes violated his sense of the role of religion in public life.¹³

The conflict began even before the *Ark* and the *Dove* sailed for Maryland and lasted for more than a decade. Once amicable partners in an effort to serve their shared faith soon became bitter enemies. The Jesuits threatened Baltimore and any official who violated the divine rights of the Church with excommunication, and organized the laity in support of their position. Baltimore countered by threatening expulsion and sending secular priests to the colony.¹⁴ By the early 1640s, all semblance of mutual trust and respect had vanished. The Jesuits, once ardent supporters of the Maryland mission, planned to close it permanently. Calvert accused the order of planning “my destruction,” either by organizing the colonists or, failing that, by conspiring with the Indians for an armed attack on the province.¹⁵ The Jesuits finally accepted the role Baltimore insisted upon, apparently deciding that their ministry to the Indians and to English Catholics in the colony was more important than loyalty to their grand design. Calvert need only “give us souls,” the Vicar-General wrote in November 1644, “the rest he may take to himself.”¹⁶

Unfortunately for the peace of the colony, the conflict was not an internal matter concerning only Calvert and the priests. Religious affairs in Maryland affected Baltimore's relationships with English officials, London merchants, and Virginia planters. The controversy also touched the lives and interests of lay Catholics associated with the colony, drawing them into conflict with the proprietor and each other. Thomas Cornwallis, for example, the largest investor in the Maryland enterprise, felt Baltimore's policy contrary to “Gods Honor and his Churches right,” and threatened to leave the colony rather than “Consent to anything that may not stand with the Good Contiens of a Real Catholick.”¹⁷ Even family relationships were strained. The controversy led to “a bitter falling out” between Baltimore and his sister and brother-in-law Peasely and to some harsh words between Cecilius and Leonard Calvert.¹⁸ One writer has suggested that the conflict created a deep party division within Maryland with the Calverts and a

few of their clients on one side and most of the first adventurers and the Jesuits on the other.¹⁹ This overstates the case, but the controversy did heighten tensions between Baltimore and the colonists and did have an impact on strictly secular issues.

The problems facing the colonists, aggravated by religious differences, were compounded because disagreements could not be resolved, solutions adopted, or policy determined entirely within Maryland. The proprietor's desires and interests had always to be considered. Baltimore did delegate extensive authority to his brother Leonard, but he retained the ultimate power in his hands. Decisions reached in Maryland were subject to his review and the dissatisfied were not reluctant to appeal. Despite efforts to keep himself well informed, Baltimore long remained insensitive to the special problems presented by life in a new settlement. Even Leonard Calvert complained that his elder brother's proposals contained "many things unsuteable to the peoples good."²⁰ Baltimore invested the "greatest part" of his wealth in the colony, turning a once substantial inheritance into a "weak fortune."²¹ Financial difficulties and his position as Maryland's apologist before sometimes hostile English officials provided him with a perspective that often differed from that of the colonists. Instead of serving as a stabilizing influence, proprietary intervention in provincial affairs was often resented as an unwelcome intrusion. Had affairs in England permitted Baltimore to settle in his plantation, the process of establishing a new colony might have proved less tumultuous.

The ultimate authority in Maryland was possessed by neither the colonists nor the proprietor, but by the Crown. Royal officials seemed little interested in Maryland, but they did create difficulties. Vacillation by the crown was in part responsible for the length of the struggle over Kent Island and the fur trade. The possibility of appeal to Whitehall made it impossible for decisions taken in Maryland to appear final, while the failure of English officials to develop a clear policy toward Chesapeake affairs contributed to the uncertainty of political life in the colony. English political controversies were also carried to the province, particularly with the outbreak of Civil War, where they increased the emotional intensity of local struggles. Political instability in the home country contributed to disruptions in Maryland throughout the seventeenth century.²²

Marylanders had to adapt traditional English institutions to a new environment without the power to make or enforce basic decisions on policy and procedure. Even under ideal conditions their task would have been difficult; the hostility of the colonists' new neighbors made it awesome. A war with the Susquehannah placed a heavy financial burden on the young settlement, while fear and suspicion of the Indians on the part of many settlers led to a strong, emotional reaction against the rational and relatively peaceful policy urged by the Calverts.²³ The Indians did not pose a serious threat to the colony's survival, but they did increase the difficulty of building an orderly community.

Maryland's English neighbors proved more troublesome. From the 1630s to the 1660s, Baltimore struggled with a diverse group of merchants and planters associated with Virginia for control of his colony. Baltimore eventually won the struggle with the "Virginia interest," although not without first making several concessions to their demands. In the meantime, the question of whether Maryland

would remain a separate colony distinct from Virginia remained open. The struggle diverted energy and resources from the task of building a stable community along the Bay and contributed to the general political uncertainty of the colony's early history.

The "Virginia interest," a combination of London merchants and Chesapeake planters, consisted of obscure, ambitious, fiercely competitive men who had risen to power in colonial affairs following the destruction of the Virginia Company and the withdrawal of established London merchants from the tobacco trade. The new merchants were a diverse group. Most were born outside of London, younger sons of the lesser gentry, minor merchants, or prosperous yeomen. Often they worked as small retailers, domestic merchants, sea captains, and planters in Virginia or the West Indies before entering colonial trades. By the 1630s family and business associations were turning these men of varied origins into a self-conscious group capable of collective action both political and commercial.²⁴

The line between merchant and planter was thin and often crossed: merchants ran plantations and wealthy, aspiring planters engaged in trade. Recruited from the same mold, both groups consisted of men of undistinguished origins actively engaged in the pursuit of wealth and power. Whether merchant or planter, pre-eminence in the Chesapeake depended not on inherited wealth, status, or education, but on entrepreneurial talents, the ability to wring wealth out of the colonies. Despite the fiercely competitive character of their enterprises, success required cooperation. The planter needed the merchant's capital and English political connections; the merchant depended upon the planter's experience and influence in the colony. The men who dominated Virginia's political life in the post-Company period through their positions on the Council—William Claiborne, Samuel Mathews, William Tucker, and George Menefie, for example—were closely bound to the leading tobacco merchants—Maurice Thompson, Thomas Stone, William Cloberry, and others—through a complex set of tightly woven business and personal connections. By the 1630s the merchant-councillor faction had become a "nearly irresistible power bloc" in Chesapeake affairs.²⁵ Virginia, in the words of a contemporary observer, was "wholly depending on the Wills and counsailes of Men of Trade."²⁶

The merchant-councillor group was in firm control of the Virginia economy when the Calverts first became interested in Maryland. They had acquired almost unlimited access to land and had assumed direction of the process of growth in the colony. They were in an expansive, optimistic mood and opposed Baltimore's project which would restrict Virginia's growth and their control of the developing Chesapeake economy. The immediate focus of the conflict was Kent Island, a small planting and fur-trading settlement recently established well within the bounds of Lord Baltimore's patent by members of the group led by William Claiborne.²⁷

Claiborne, younger son of a minor English merchant, was appointed surveyor for Virginia in 1621, shortly after leaving Pembroke College, Cambridge. He was an ambitious man of considerable abilities and his career advanced rapidly in the New World. By the mid-1620s he had obtained a seat on the Council and the lucrative post of Secretary of State for the colony. He used this newly acquired power to launch a grandiose mercantile venture that would, he planned, dominate

the colonial fur and provisions trade from the Chesapeake to Canada. Kent Island, which Claiborne had discovered while on a fur trading expedition in 1627, was to serve as the center of his empire.²⁸

Claiborne could not launch a venture of such magnitude alone. He understood the trade, was familiar with the region, and had the necessary influence in Virginia, but he lacked the capital and the political connections in England that the project required. In 1630, he found the support he needed in London among traders to the American colonies. Claiborne would supply the experience and the Chesapeake connections and supervise New World operations. His London partners, William Cloberry, Maurice Thompson, Simon Turgis, and John de la Barre—men already active in the colonial trades—would provide the capital. Cloberry also promised to secure a patent from the crown.²⁹

An agreement was signed on May 24, 1631, and Claiborne sailed for Kent Island on the *Africa* with twenty servants and over £1300 in provisions and trading goods on May 28. Despite a disastrous fire in 1631, the new settlement prospered, although not on the scale of Claiborne's initial vision. By 1634, when the *Ark* and the *Dove* landed at St. Mary's, the partnership employed forty-four men on the island in the fur trade and in raising tobacco and provisions. They constituted a formidable barrier to Calvert's control of his newly acquired territory.³⁰

No narrative of the intense, occasionally violent struggle between Baltimore and the merchant-councillor alliance need be offered here; an adequate reconstruction of the events has been provided by others.³¹ Rather, the focus will be on the strategy Calvert pursued to gain a victory over Claiborne and to integrate the Kent Island settlement into the province of Maryland. Both victory and integration were only temporary, but they reveal the considerable political abilities that enabled Lord Baltimore to survive this struggle and those that followed, and still retain the Maryland proprietorship.

The merchant-councillor connection was powerful, but it was not invulnerable. Calvert's attack focused on three specific weaknesses. In the first place, colonial merchants had not yet attained the power in English politics they would achieve by the middle 1640s. Before the Civil War, Calvert possessed at least equal, perhaps greater, political influence and he used his connections well. Second, the merchants and councillors were closely bound together, but they were not inseparable. In particular, the merchants were more concerned with trade than proprietary rights, while many of the Virginians reversed those priorities. The members of the merchant-councillor group, furthermore, were singularly ambitious men not unwilling to desert a partner in pursuit of their own advantage. Baltimore exploited these characteristics to divide the opposition. Finally, the success of the Kent Island venture depended upon the loyalty of the employees settled there by the partnership, a loyalty that could be undermined. Calvert combined these tactics with a judicious use of force to produce a strategy that proved successful against imposing odds, at least in the short run. Given the precarious foothold he had established in the New World, the short run counted, for each year that he held his patent meant more colonists and a stronger claim.

Both Baltimore and the merchant-planter group knew that their fate would ultimately be decided in England. The merchant-councillors tried first to prevent the grant to Baltimore, then to have it revoked. Failing that, they worked to

obtain a royal charter for Kent, a license to trade in the Chesapeake, or at least an order that Baltimore not interfere with their operation. Calvert, for his part, fought to obtain the patent, then to keep it, to prevent a royal charter or license to the Claiborne-Cloberry group, and to secure an order that they either submit to his government or withdraw from his territory. Whether because of official incompetence, a reluctance to make a decision that would inevitably offend someone, a hope that the parties would reach a compromise on their own, or because the contestants were so evenly matched, the crown vacillated. Proclamations were issued, orders dispatched, and letters written favoring first one side and then the other. Finally, nearly six years after the Maryland patent was issued, on April 4, 1638, the Lords Commissioners for Plantations declared "the Right & Tytle of the Ile of Kent & other places in question to be absolutely belonging to the Lord Baltimore, & that noe plantation or Trade with the Indians ought to be within the precincts of his Pattent without Lycence from him."³²

Calvert not only used his court connections to obtain a favorable decision on his charter; he also, with the help of his constant ally, Secretary of State Windebank, launched an attack on merchant-councillor control of the Virginia government. Crown endorsement of his patent was critical, but the cooperation, or at least neutrality, of the Virginia government would make the task of establishing a colony much easier. Far from being cooperative, Governor John Harvey pointed out, the Virginia Council intended "no less then the subjection of Maryland."³³

Harvey was the only official in Virginia friendly to the Calverts when the *Ark* and the *Dove* arrived. Baltimore cultivated Harvey's friendship by obtaining letters of support and encouragement and attempted to place others favorable to Maryland in positions of power in the Virginia government. His first success was a spectacular one. In December 1634, Richard Kemp arrived in the Chesapeake with a commission as Secretary, replacing no less a foe than William Claiborne!³⁴

In part because he supported Baltimore, Harvey was "thrust out" of office and the colony by the Virginia Council in May 1635. The Council then chose one of its own, Capt. John West, governor pending orders from the crown.³⁵ At the same time, perhaps realizing that deposing royal governors was risky business, the councillors adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward Maryland. The conflict over Kent and the fur trade had recently erupted in violence. The council made a sincere effort to avoid "further unnatural broiles" by promising the Marylanders "all fayre correspondencie on the behalfe of the Inhabitants of the Ile of Kent untill wee understand his Majesties further pleasure."³⁶

The "thrusting out" of Governor Harvey offered Calvert an opportunity to increase his influence in the Virginia government. The merchant-councillor faction had discredited itself in the eyes of royal officials by their rebellion. Baltimore petitioned the crown to summon "the Prime actors in the late Mutenye," John West, Samuel Mathews, John Utie, and William Pierce, to England to answer for their treatment of Harvey. He also asked that Harvey be recommissioned and that his friend Windebank write Harvey's instructions.³⁷ Most of his requests were granted; by early 1637 Baltimore had attained a dominant influence in Virginia's government. Harvey was again governor and most of the old council—including Claiborne—had been replaced by more pliable men. Rich-

ard Kemp was still Secretary, while Jerome Hawley had been appointed Treasurer. Hawley's younger brother, Gabriel, George Reade, brother of Windebank's assistant, George Donne, son of the poet, and Robert Evelin rounded out the Calvert connection. Baltimore even had the audacity to suggest that he be appointed Governor of Virginia! Windebank was to inform the King that, although "Lord Baltimore hath no ambition or affection" for the office, he would accept it out of a sense of duty for a mere £2000 a year.³⁸

Baltimore did not retain this influence for long. Harvey was replaced in 1639 and the members of the old council gradually returned to power. But he held it long enough. The merchant-councillor faction's power in the Virginia government was neutralized at a critical point in the struggle; in fact, official Virginia became for a time Calvert's active partner. When Sir Francis Wyatt, the new governor, arrived in 1639, the Claiborne-Cloberry partnership had dissolved in a bitter dispute and Baltimore's authority had been reluctantly accepted by the inhabitants of Kent.

Compared to obtaining a favorable decision on the charter and neutralizing the Virginia government, creating dissension between Cloberry and Claiborne proved easy. Even before the *Ark* and the *Dove* left England, Cloberry, Thompson, De la Barre, and other London merchants approached Calvert without Claiborne's knowledge. They "made somewhat slight of Cap: Clayborne's interest" in the partnership and asked for a grant of Kent Island and a license to trade. Baltimore realized that Claiborne was the central figure in the Kent venture; he lived on the island, understood the fur trade, commanded the loyalty of the settlers, and would make a useful ally. Leonard Calvert was to inform Claiborne of the merchants' approach and also that Baltimore, "lest he might prejudice him by making them any grant," postponed an agreement until he "could truly understand from him, how matters stand between them, and what he would desire of his Lordship." If Claiborne would accept Maryland's sovereignty, Baltimore promised "all the encouragement he cann to proceede" with the development of Kent Island.³⁹

The course of the negotiations between the partners and Baltimore is now obscure, but it is clear that Claiborne and the merchants soon became too suspicious of each other to mount an effective opposition. Cloberry failed to send adequate supplies to Kent, while Claiborne refused to render an accounting of the firm's income and expenses. Both entered into independent negotiations with Baltimore and each accused the other of preventing an amicable settlement. Calvert, of course, cultivated their mutual suspicions at each opportunity. Thompson, Turgis, and De la Barre soon dropped out of the venture. They were replaced by David Moorehead and George Evelin, men without the wealth or the political influence of the earlier partners.⁴⁰ Evelin, in fact, destroyed the Claiborne-Cloberry partnership once and for all.

Evelin, whose younger brother Robert was one of Calvert's men in the Virginia government, may have reached an agreement with Baltimore before joining the partnership. At least he wasted little time in betraying the firm's interests. Cloberry sent Evelin to Kent in late 1636 to examine the accounts and take over management of the joint-stock. At first, Evelin was "very earnest in speaking severall times against the pretended right of the Marylanders to the said trade

and plantacion, and did speake ill language of the Governor of Maryland." However, as soon as Claiborne left for England, Evelin began negotiations with Leonard Calvert. He helped Calvert take the island by force, took a commission as Commander of Kent, persuaded the inhabitants to accept Baltimore's authority, and converted much of the firm's property to his own use. What remained was seized by Governor Calvert. The joint-stock was dead, the partners left to settle their differences in a bitter court fight.⁴¹

It remained only for Baltimore to convince the Kent Islanders to accept a *fait accompli* and become good citizens of Maryland. This proved difficult. One of Claiborne's most impressive talents was an exceptional ability to command personal loyalty. However, the inhabitants of Kent did have interests of their own. They were not merely followers of Claiborne and employees of the company, but men with families to support, plantations to run, and ambitions to pursue. Leonard Calvert worked intelligently to achieve his brother's goal. He combined a judicious use of force with a general pardon and promises of secure titles and easy terms for land Claiborne had distributed. He recruited some of the island's officials from among Claiborne's supporters, while sending men of more certain loyalty from St. Mary's to live on Kent, hold the critical positions of power, and safeguard his interests. The strategy worked. By 1640, the inhabitants had accepted, albeit reluctantly, the legitimacy of Calvert's claim to the island. They held their land from Baltimore by patent, paid him quit rents on it, participated in the island's government under his commissions, paid taxes, and sent representatives to the Assembly at St. Mary's.⁴²

Lord Baltimore had won the first round in the struggle with the "Virginia interest." His patent had been upheld, his opponents had lost their firm grip on Chesapeake affairs and had fallen to fighting among themselves, and the inhabitants of Kent had been integrated into his government. But the victory had been costly, diverting energy and resources away from the process of building an orderly community and contributing to the general climate of political uncertainty. Nor was the victory permanent; Baltimore had won a battle, not a war. Cecilius Calvert had not heard the last from William Claiborne, the London merchants, or the Isle of Kent. They would again pose a threat to Maryland's survival in the near future.

The men who held high office in early Maryland possessed the characteristics traditionally associated with political leadership by Englishmen. They were gentlemen by English standards, distinguished from the majority of settlers by birth, education, and wealth. Despite these qualifications, they contributed to the instability of public life in the province. The gentry of early St. Mary's were men whose opportunities in England were limited because of their religious persuasion and their rank within their families. They were Roman Catholic younger sons with restricted career possibilities at home who saw in Maryland a chance to earn fortunes and make a mark in the world. Lord Baltimore encouraged their ambitions; the promotional campaign raised expectations to unreasonable levels.⁴³ Maryland did not turn out to be an economic paradise, a fact that created tensions between the proprietor and the provincial gentry and tested the strength of the gentry's commitment to Maryland.

Their commitment proved weak. One of the differences between the gentry

and the majority of settlers lay in their attitude toward migration. For most settlers the decision to emigrate was irrevocable. They lacked the capital to return, while their confinement within a largely oral culture limited their contacts with family and friends in England once they had crossed the Atlantic. For the gentry the decision to migrate was not necessarily permanent. They possessed the capital to return home if they wished. They could also maintain contact with England through letters and mercantile connections. They could, having made their fortune, having had their fill of adventure, or having found that Maryland did not meet their expectations, return home. Many did. The persistence rate among the local gentry was low, a fact with important political consequences.⁴⁴ It hindered the emergence of a stable, permanent governing elite whose personal interests were firmly identified with the success of the Maryland adventure. The men who held high office in Maryland were well qualified as individuals, but as a group they were too transient to develop the sense of common purpose, social responsibility, and loyalty toward the province necessary for the creation of a well-governed, orderly community.

The ambitions of the gentry had political consequences similar to their transience. Those who came to Maryland in search of wealth, office, or personal aggrandizement pursued those ends with a single-minded willfulness that disrupted public life and led to conflict among themselves and with the proprietor. Jerome Hawley, for example, deserted Maryland for an office in Virginia, where his ruthless pursuit of wealth heightened hostility toward Roman Catholics in general and Catholic Marylanders in particular. Giles Brent and John Lewger engaged in a bitter, disruptive struggle for political pre-eminence, while Brent tried to use his marriage to an Indian "princess" to carve out a vast landed empire in Maryland that rivaled that of the proprietor. Brent was also accused of using his position as chief judge of Kent for personal profit and then of subverting an expedition against the Indians out of indignation over his removal from the bench. Thomas Greene used a brief term as Governor to advance his personal interests at the expense of the public welfare. Thomas Cornwallis threatened to leave Maryland if his demand for a share of the fur trade was not met, and later resigned his position on the Council because of a disagreement with the Calverts. Thomas Gerard used the opportunity afforded by the collapse of government in the mid-1640s to forcibly collect an outstanding debt. Leonard Calvert almost undermined an expedition against the Susquehannah by insisting that he be exempted from the levy and his servants from the march.⁴⁵ Maryland's gentry lacked the cohesiveness, the loyalty to the proprietor, and the interest in the well-being of the province to successfully defend the colony against serious attack.

The ambitions of ordinary settlers contributed to the general instability. Although the pace of property accumulation was too slow for the local gentry, Maryland was "a good poore man's Country" during the middle decades of the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ The full social impact of opportunity was not felt until after Ingle's Rebellion. In the early 1640s, Maryland society was clearly divided into dominant and dominated groups. However, signs of a forthcoming social transformation were already in evidence. Men who had arrived without capital were establishing households with ease. Twenty to twenty-five men who arrived

in Maryland as servants or poor free immigrants had become freeholders by 1642, suggesting that manorial lords would soon find it difficult to keep tenants on their estates. One former servant, John Hallows, had achieved success in the Indian trade and emerged as one of the leading creditors of early St. Mary's. Two men of middling status and limited means, Nicholas Harvey and Richard Gardiner, neither of whom could sign his name, had become Lords of Maryland Manors. Several ordinary settlers had won election to the Assembly or appointment as a justice, militia officer, or sheriff; although none yet wielded great power and most only held office briefly, they were precursors of a time when small planters would play a major role in the government of Maryland. The social structure of early St. Mary's approximated Lord Baltimore's vision of a hierarchic, stratified community, but the dynamic of opportunity was beginning to undermine the "well-ordered" society that migrated to Maryland on the *Ark* and the *Dove*.⁴⁷

Opportunity led to heightened expectations and these, in turn, may have contributed to political disorder. Deference to "natural leaders" in political affairs was the rule in early St. Mary's, but it was not universal. Men who expected improvement would perhaps be unlikely to view the social division between leaders and led as natural or to behave with proper deference toward their social superiors, particularly if religious differences provided ideological justification for their resistance. Ordinary settlers did not always follow the gentry's lead in the Assembly, nor were they reluctant to protest vehemently policies with which they disagreed.⁴⁸

Maryland society possessed several characteristics which perhaps encouraged the disruptive political consequences of social mobility. The age and sex structure of the community and the peculiar shape of households in early St. Mary's may have contributed to political unrest among small planters. Men predominated. There were few women in the society—roughly one for every four men—and even fewer children. Further, most of the women and children were attached to the gentry; the great majority of small planters were childless bachelors. Moreover, they were young: roughly two-thirds of those of working age were under thirty. And they quickly left the initial settlement cluster at St. Mary's City to scatter along the Potomac and Patuxent rivers, often living alone or in households in which all residents were young, unattached males.⁴⁹ A young man not yet burdened by family responsibilities could afford the consequences of political assertion more easily than an older man with wife and children to support.⁵⁰ The dispersed pattern of settlement, the fragility of the new institutions, and the limited police power at the disposal of proprietary officials made it difficult for the gentry to deal effectively with unrest.

It is perhaps impossible to rank the several factors that contributed to political instability. The political immaturity of the gentry, ambition and opportunity, fundamental issues, sex and age patterns, the structure of households, dispersed settlement arrangements, religious tensions, limited police power, fragile institutions, hostile neighbors, Lord Baltimore's absence, vacillation in Whitehall, English political strife, and the sheer difficulty of the task of constructing a well-ordered community all contributed to political disorder in early St. Mary's. It would be misleading to single out one and call it fundamental, although some—in particular, religious tensions, hostile neighbors, the political immaturity of the

gentry, and the awesome character of the task—seem more important than others. The important point is that they reinforced each other, worked together rather than at cross purpose. It is not surprising that the whole structure collapsed into anarchy when Richard Ingle challenged the Maryland political order in early 1645.

By 1644, Maryland's government was on the brink of collapse. Leonard Calvert was in England from April 1643 to September 1644. During his absence, Giles Brent, the acting governor, and John Lewger struggled for pre-eminence in provincial affairs, a contest culminating in Brent's removal of Lewger from the office of Secretary. Maryland suffered some humiliating defeats at the hands of the Indians and many settlers refused to pay taxes or serve on another expedition. The conflict with the Jesuits, brought to a head by Baltimore's effort to suppress a public chapel, had embroiled the gentry in a bitter legal struggle resulting in the refusal of local officials to serve process, Cornwallis' resignation from office, and Brent's arrest. Further, the government at St. Mary's had begun to lose its hold on Kent. William Claiborne returned to the island in late 1644 to see if he could detach it from Maryland; he nearly succeeded in persuading some of the inhabitants to seize the government. Nor did things improve when Leonard Calvert returned. Calvert found himself almost hopelessly entangled in the chapel affair, in the Brent-Lewger controversy, and in a separate dispute growing out of Brent's recent marriage to Calvert's former ward, the Indian Mary Kitomaquand. Calvert, furthermore, was helpless in the face of growing discontent with proprietary rule at Kent, afraid that anything he did would provoke open rebellion.⁵¹ When Richard Ingle marched on St. Mary's in early 1645, Calvert and the gentry were unable to mount an effective resistance.

Ingle, a veteran ship captain employed by the prominent London tobacco merchants Thomas Allen and Anthony Pennyston, first appeared in St. Mary's in early 1643. Although he was later accused of making inflammatory statements against Charles I, the voyage was uneventful.⁵² On his return to the province in early 1644, however, Brent and Lewger arrested him for treason. Despite persistent efforts, Lewger was unable to assemble a jury that would return an indictment. Cornwallis, fearful of offending parliamentary forces, helped Ingle escape, contributing further to the deterioration of relationships among the local gentry. Ingle left Maryland with a threat "to assault & beate downe the dwellin houses of divers the inhabitants of this colony."⁵³ He returned the next year to make the threat good.

Ingle arrived at St. Mary's in late February 1645. Because Leonard Calvert was exercising "a tyrannical power against the Protestants, and such as adhered to Parliament," Ingle attacked the settlement. The details of what followed are now lost. Baltimore's supporters apparently surrendered without a fight; Leonard Calvert abandoned the province for refuge in Virginia; Ingle and his men ("most rascally fellows of desperate fortune," Lewger called them) burned some houses, looted others, sent several priests to England in chains, and returned to London with Giles Brent and other Catholics as prisoners, leaving the settlement in the hands of a small group of mercenaries recruited in Virginia. For nearly two years Maryland was without government: the colonists were terrorized, their lives disrupted, their estates despoiled. Later, when peace had been restored, settlers

who had remained at St. Mary's in 1645 and 1646 referred to the period as the "time of troubles" or "the plundering time."⁵⁴

It is not certain that the leading London tobacco merchants helped plan Ingle's attack on St. Mary's, or even that they knew of his intentions, but when he returned to England they came out in force against Baltimore's charter.⁵⁵ They nearly succeeded. While Charles I was in power, Cecilius Calvert's influence at court at least equaled, if it did not surpass, that of the colonial merchants. In the 1630s he could afford to refuse any concessions to their demands. By 1645, however, the London merchants clearly held the upper hand. A new strategy was called for, and Baltimore responded accordingly. The new policy is clearly evident in the appointments of William Stone as governor and of Job Chandler and Edward Gibbons to the Council; it may also have influenced Baltimore's decision to offer refuge to dissenting Virginians and to insist that the Assembly pass legislation to guarantee religious freedom for all Christians. The effect of Calvert's conciliatory attitude was soon evident: by 1650 he could call on several leading London merchants, men who had petitioned against his charter as recently as 1647, to testify in his behalf before parliament.⁵⁶

However, a firm grip on the charter and the full support of the London merchants took Baltimore longer to obtain. He lost control of the government again in the mid-1650s, but he continued to cultivate friendships with the merchants. With the Restoration he again acquired influence at court, while his appointment of men of trade to positions of power and his offer of large land grants on easy terms earned support among London tobacco merchants. By 1660, Baltimore had created a position strong enough to keep the charter in Calvert family hands for thirty years. Cecilius' son Charles, by then Lord Baltimore, lost the charter in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1689, in large part because he had failed to cultivate and maintain the friendship and support of the leading merchants that his father had slowly built up during the middle decades of the century.⁵⁷

Leonard Calvert returned to Maryland in early 1647. Slowly over the next two years, Baltimore's authority was restored. By late 1648, despite Leonard Calvert's recent death, peace and regular government had returned. The colonists deserved a rest. The structured, hierarchic society of early St. Mary's was now a shambles. Most of the gentlemen who had been charged with providing leadership were gone; plundered homes, some burned, others vandalized, and abandoned fields remained as testimony to their failure.

The decline of population provides striking evidence of the destructive impact of Richard Ingle. The anarchy and disruption of daily life that marked the "time of troubles" created an extensive emigration as settlers left Maryland for more tranquil regions. It is not certain how low the population fell in 1645 and 1646, but in 1648, after the arrival of some new immigrants and the return of many who had fled during the "plundering time," there were fewer than 250 people at St. Mary's. Certainty is impossible, but it is likely that the population of St. Mary's fell well below that of the first year of settlement, to perhaps as few as 100, during Ingle's Rebellion.⁵⁸ The decline underscores the precarious existence of the original settlement. More than a decade after the charter was granted, the survival of Lord Baltimore's colony as a distinct political entity was by no means

certain. Quite literally, Maryland experienced a death crisis in the mid-1640s. The province recovered, but the society that emerged in the 1650s and 1660s bore slight resemblance to the stratified, hierarchic community planned by Lord Baltimore for early St. Mary's.

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Eighteenth-Century Suffrage: The Case of Maryland

THORNTON ANDERSON

SCHOLARSHIP REGARDING THE SUFFRAGE IN THE COLONIAL AND EARLY national periods seems to go in cycles. During the Progressive era the opinion was general that the franchise was narrowly held. Albert E. McKinley, in his monumental study of the suffrage in the colonies, found that in rural Pennsylvania about 1775 only 8 percent of the population qualified, and in Philadelphia only 2 percent, while in Rhode Island potential voters reached 9 percent and in Connecticut and Massachusetts “perhaps 16 percent.”¹ Carl Becker examined New York and found for 1790 a figure of 12 percent; moreover, less than half of the adult males were eligible. Looking more broadly at the problem in 1920, he concluded that “in most colonies a majority, and in all a considerable minority, of the adult male citizens were disfranchised.”²

Similar views held the field until the 1950s when Robert E. Brown challenged the established opinion. Using much more thorough methods he and B. Katherine Brown found 90 percent of the adult males could vote in Massachusetts, and that more than 85 percent could in Virginia.³ Less drastic yet similar revisionism flowed from detailed investigations of New Jersey (“all but a small fraction”), New York (rural, 65 percent, City “virtually all”), and Rhode Island (79 percent).⁴ This phase of research was summed up in 1960 by Chilton Williamson: “the evidence pointing toward a relatively large electorate under the property tests cannot be refuted by any empirical evidence to the contrary.”⁵ He concluded that, from place to place, some fifty to seventy-five percent of the adult males were freeholders; and, of course, other types of property qualified additional voters. These data are for scattered dates, mostly from 1750 to 1775.

Even while these high estimates were in vogue Jackson Turner Main’s studies of landholding were undermining them. He found, for example, that only half of the adult white males of Virginia were landholders.⁶ In 1963 the Browns’ methodology was subjected to a searching critique by John Cary. Lovejoy’s use of “rateable polls” was questioned by Robert J. Dinkin, because men 21 and over in Providence in 1767 were more numerous than rateable polls; and his estimate of 79 percent of adult males eligible in Rhode Island was thus reduced to 67.5 percent.⁷

So for the past fifteen years the emphasis has been again on the restrictions. It has been pointed out that property holding alone was not enough. To be eligible to vote one needed also to be a freeman. While this might be easy for the

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propertied to attain, many eligible men failed to take the freeman's oath. Moreover, one needed to have an election in which to vote. In Massachusetts in 1763 there were no assembly elections in 38 percent of the towns, and in New Hampshire a decade later 68 percent of the towns were without representation.⁸

The study of the suffrage has, of course, an importance that goes far beyond the refinement of the ratio of eligibles to ineligibles. Geographical differences and their relation to economic, religious, ethnic, institutional and other differences can be revealing. The characteristics of those eligible and their holdings of various types of property, in comparison or contrast with those ineligible, may be related to the characteristics of those who are elected and to public policy. Trends over time may give clues to an understanding of social evolution and even of specific events. An increase in the ratio of eligibles suggests an opening of opportunities, while a decrease points toward a sharpening of internal social conflict. To be more specific, perhaps such a decrease contributed to the impetus toward the Revolution, and perhaps, continuing, it posed a threat of renewed radicalism against which was mounted the second revolution of 1787.

Only the accumulation of the results of many researchers can cover this vast field. Studying Maryland, as a part of this, has some advantages. The state is small enough to be manageable without the dangers of sampling. Although predominantly a tidewater area, the west is mountainous, and the soil is quite varied. Sharp religious differences were overlaid with ethnic differences as the Germans and the English joined in filling up the piedmont. A slave state, Maryland was also a border state, differing from both North and South.

Maryland also has a mass of demographic data in the tax lists of the early national period that have not been exploited with regard to the suffrage. This paper will make no attempt to exhaust these resources but rather to indicate some of the results that can be obtained from the data of a single year. The legal background of the voting franchise and some of the earlier studies of the suffrage in Maryland will also be examined. Attention will be given to eligibility and not to actual voting records, to the anatomy rather than the physiology of the suffrage.

THE LEGAL STRUCTURE OF MARYLAND'S COLONIAL SUFFRAGE

The original charter of Lord Baltimore (1632), like the Carolina charter of 1663, created a palatinate of Maryland which he should "have, exercise, use and enjoy the same, as amply as any Bishop of Durham, within the Bishoprick, or County Palatine of Durham in our Kingdome of England, hath at any time heretofore had, held, used or enjoyed, or of right ought, or might have had, held, used, or enjoyed." Included was a power to "make any Lawes whatsoever, appertaining either unto the publike State of the said Province, or unto the private utility of particular Persons," according to Baltimore's best discretion. But this power could be exercised only "of and with the advise assent and approbation of the Free-men (*Liberorum Hominum*) of the said Province, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates or deputies." For this purpose they were to be assembled "when, and as often as neede shall require," but in the manner and form that Baltimore thought best.⁹

Applying his discretion, the proprietary in the early years called both folknotes

and representative assemblies.¹⁰ Attendance and the choosing of proxies were not restricted to the freeholders, but the bias of the governor is revealed in a surviving writ of summons to the second assembly (1638): Captain Robert Evelin was directed

to endeavour to perswade such and so many of the said freemen as you shall thinke fitt to repair p[er]sonally to the said assembly . . . and to give free power & liberty to all the rest of the said freemen either to be p[rese]nt at the said assembly if they so please; or otherwise to elect . . . deputies or burgesses. . . .¹¹

For the third Assembly the practice of the personal summons to holders of manors was instituted, and by 1642 such persons along with councillors began to be distinguished from the burgesses.¹² Yet in 1642 a man who “pleaded he was no freeman because he had no land nor certain dwelling” was voted by the Assembly to be such and therefore required to attend in person or by proxy.¹³

In 1648 a very respected woman from Kent Island claimed a seat but was denied by the governor. Her name does not appear among the many proxy lists from Kent, so it may be deduced that she had also been denied there and that her appearance at the Assembly was an appeal from the local ruling.¹⁴

It thus appears that, in the beginning, Maryland used a free, adult, male suffrage. Very early, however, this was restricted to Protestants—informally from 1645 and formally from 1654; but an agreement with Cromwell’s commissioners in 1658 restored the franchise to the Catholics.¹⁵ After the fall of James II, under the Association and the royal government, Catholics were excluded from office, but there is no evidence that they again lost the franchise. The Acts of 1692 and 1716 regulating elections placed no restrictions on them.¹⁶ They were disfranchised, however, in 1718 and did not regain the vote until 1776.¹⁷

A landholding restriction began in 1670. The legislature of Virginia had limited the suffrage to “freeholders and housekeepers” in October 1670. In December the Maryland sheriffs were required by the governor to restrict the suffrage to those freemen who had “within the said County Visible seated Plantations of fifty Acres of Land at the least or Visible personal Estates to the Value of forty Pounds Sterling at the least.”¹⁸ There was a small armed revolt against this restriction (and other grievances) in Calvert County in 1676; but in 1678 the Assembly incorporated it into the statutes, omitting the word “seated.”¹⁹ The proprietary vetoed this Act in 1681, yet the ordinance with which he replaced it contained verbatim the same restriction, which was reenacted by the Assembly under the royal government in 1692 and repeatedly thereafter.²⁰

The capital city of St. Mary’s was given separate representation in the second session of the Assembly of 1671. Two delegates were to be elected, not by the citizens but by the mayor, recorder, aldermen and common council—all appointees of the governor.²¹ In 1708 Annapolis replaced the old capital, with the same franchise, again by a governor’s charter. This time, however, the Assembly expelled the delegates and the governor retaliated by dissolving the Assembly. A compromise was reached by which the franchise was extended

alsoe [to] all freeholders of the said Citty, that is to say, all persons owneing a whole lott of land with a house built thereon, according to law, and all persons actually resideing and inhabitting in the said Citty, haveing a visible estate of the vallue of

twenty pounds sterling, att the least, and likewise, all persons hereafter who shall serve five years to any trade within this Citty, and shall, after the expiracion of their time, be actually housekeepers and inhabitants in the same.²²

It thus became possible to vote in Annapolis with only half the property required in the counties, or even without it if one were a skilled artisan.

Maryland never followed the colonies to the south of her in legally confining the suffrage to whites, although there is no evidence of voting by free blacks in the colonial period.²³

To the end of the proprietary government, therefore, the suffrage was limited (except at Annapolis) to adult male Protestants who held fifty-acre freeholds, or who had visible personal estates of £40 sterling and were residents of the county.

THE LEGAL STRUCTURE OF MARYLAND'S STATE SUFFRAGE

The Revolution restored the franchise to the Catholics. The new constitution of 1776 lowered the property qualification for voting to fifty acres or £30 current money. This was equivalent to about £18 sterling, so the old figure was reduced about 55 percent.²⁴ A motion in the constitutional convention to reduce it to £5 currency was defeated by 34 votes to 20, and another motion to allow all taxpayers to vote lost by 29 to 24.²⁵ However, the constitution reaffirmed the charter of Annapolis, leaving the suffrage unchanged. The effect of this was to eliminate part of the favored treatment the capital's citizens had enjoyed since 1708: their £20 sterling franchise was not reduced to £15 currency—thenceforth a little more personal property was needed to qualify in Annapolis than in the counties.

The towns of Annapolis and Baltimore, although each was given two delegates, were not treated equally by the constitution. The inhabitants of Baltimore had to have "the same qualifications as electors in the county," namely, £30 current money, since fifty acres of land in town was unlikely.²⁶ This meant that, as stated above, owners of houses and lots and those residents who had served apprenticeships in the town could vote at Annapolis but not necessarily at Baltimore. Moreover, the relationships of town residents to the surrounding county were different. At Annapolis those inhabitants who held a freehold of fifty acres in Anne Arundel county were entitled by the constitution to vote for county delegates. At Baltimore, on the contrary, the inhabitants "shall not be entitled to vote for, or be elected, Delegates for Baltimore county." Reciprocally, the town was protected against county residents in the same manner—a matter not mentioned for Annapolis.²⁷

The constitution of 1776 did not require voters to be white. Free blacks and mulattoes were present but not yet in significant numbers; there were about 1500 adult males among them in 1790.²⁸ They were hardly accepted as equal citizens, but there is some evidence that they did occasionally vote. Otherwise the legislature would hardly have enacted a statute in April, 1783, barring persons manumitted thereafter from voting and from office holding. Their eligibility was also officially confirmed, long after the fact, by the Court of Appeals.²⁹

In 1802 the constitution was amended to eliminate both the property requirement and black voting: "Every free white male citizen of this state, and no other above twenty-one years of age, having resided twelve months in the county next preceding the election at which he offers to vote . . . [or in Baltimore or Annapolis]

shall have a right of suffrage. . . .” In 1810 the property qualifications for office holding were also eliminated and the residence requirement relaxed to twelve months in the state and six months in the county.³⁰

SOME EARLIER STATISTICAL ESTIMATES

The early investigators dealt with the suffrage in Maryland in legal terms. McKiniey, for example, was interested in statistics and found some for New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, but none for Maryland. It was not until the end of the Progressive period that a historian ventured forward with a concrete estimate of the state's voting population.

Using a figure of 25,000 eligible voters published in the *Maryland Journal* in 1788, and the census of 1790, Philip A. Crowl estimated that only 55 percent of the free white males could vote.³¹ Chilton Williamson found that scattered data from three counties indicated that from 36 to 56 percent of the adult white males owned land in the 1780s, but he did not try to give a figure for voters.³² In 1968 David C. Skaggs made two calculations, based on the Debt Books in the Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of inventories in the Hall of Records at Annapolis, for 1756 and 1771. He found that, in different counties, 39 to 51 percent of the white freemen were landowners in 1756, but that the figures dropped to 27 and 44 percent in 1771. Adding the £40 sterling men, he arrived at 67 percent eligible in the earlier year and only 60 percent in the later.³³

At first sight it seems improbable that the percentages for the colonial years, when £40 sterling was needed, would be higher than in 1788, when only £30 current money was the rule. Yet if the proportion of landowners was declining as Skaggs claimed, and if the change to £30 was “minor” as Crowl said, then the secular trend might make the two estimates consistent.³⁴

Accuracy, however, is more desirable than consistency. There were weak links in the chains of reasoning of both these authors.

The contemporary guess with which Crowl started cannot be evaluated;³⁵ moreover, he resorted to the use of the census of 1880 to find the ratio of white males from 16 to 21 to the total number of white males, since the 1790 census reported those 16 and above, not 21 and above. He admitted that this was “open to question” but defended it on the ground that “the chief factor contributing to a change in the age distribution . . . , the decline in infant mortality, would not seriously affect this ratio, since it concerns only persons above the age of 16.” This statement is clearly confused, and ignores the growth of median age.³⁶

Skaggs studied landowners in only four counties (Baltimore, Prince George's, Queen Anne's and Talbot) of Maryland's fourteen. He called them “representative” but gave no evidence that the rest of the state was similar. His figures for white adult freemen, on which all his percentages rest, were “derived from the assumption that 20 percent of the population was adult male and that one third of these were either slaves or servants.” Now it is well known that the proportions of free population varied greatly among Maryland counties. In 1755 42 percent of Prince George's people were slaves, compared to 13 percent in Frederick and 24 percent in Queen Anne's. No average figure, therefore, could yield accurate results for separate counties. But the problem goes deeper.

The total population figures, from which the numbers of freemen were derived

by this process, seem to have been read from the line graphs in the Karinen dissertation.³⁷ These are semi-logarithmic graphs, with wide separations between the lines at crucial points, and very difficult to read. But it was unnecessary to read them. In drawing them Karinen depended, for 1755, on the census figures reported in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*³⁸ from which he tabulated totals in an appendix. The figures that Skaggs derived from the graphs differ substantially and in inconsistent ways from the figures in the appendix, particularly for Prince George's county. For 1771 his figures are larger for three counties than those reported in the census of 1782, which Karinen also gives.³⁹ If the population figures are inflated, the percentages of landowners will be too small, and the decline in landownership between 1756 and 1771 may be an artifact of the methodology.

Another difficulty lies in the inventory research, which covered Baltimore and Talbot counties, 1750-1773. Skaggs reports that 29 percent of the freemen (including landowners) did not have £40. He also reported that 45 percent of the non-landowners did not have £40. These two figures, set up in equations, are inconsistent with his figures for the numbers of landowners and non-landowners. This inconsistency shows up in the different percentages of eligible voters he arrives at by the two methods of computation.⁴⁰

Yet Skaggs' original research was substantial. As the most recent and best documented work on the electorate in Maryland it is relied upon by Dinkin in his survey of the states. Perhaps more important, the evidence that the percentage of freemen owning land dropped from 44 to 37 in fifteen years strongly supports the idea that an increasingly restrictive society was a contributing cause of the American Revolution.⁴¹ A closer look at this evidence, therefore, is justified.

The census report of 1755 is extremely detailed for so early a date, giving figures by age, sex, race and legal status in thirty-four categories by counties. It reported free white males, taxable and non-taxable, of sixteen years and above, from which those sixteen to twenty can be eliminated by Jefferson's (or Crowl's) technique. Derivation of adult white freemen from the total population is therefore not necessary. For 1771 there is no comparable census report. However, the census of 1782 provided figures for free males eighteen and over, which is a better starting point than total population.⁴² If those aged eighteen to twenty and the free non-whites are eliminated from this report, a fairly reliable set of figures for 1771 can be interpolated, using the data for 1755.⁴³ The results are in Tables I and II.

TABLE I
Adult White Freemen and Landowners in 1756

	Free White Males 16 & over 1755	Free White Males 21 & over 1756	Landowners (Skaggs) 1756	Percentage Landowners from	
				Cols. 3 ÷ 2	from Skaggs
Baltimore	2630	2123	1096	51.6	45.7
Prince George's	1515	1209	752	62.2	38.9
Queen Anne's	1745	1344	780	58.0	50.9
Talbot	1223	958	451	47.1	39.8
Totals	7113	5634	3079	54.7	44.0

TABLE II
Adult White Freemen and Landowners in 1771

	Free Males 18 & over 1782	% Free Non- White 1790	Free White Males 21 & over 1771	Land- owners (Skaggs) 1771	Percentage Landowners from	
					Cols. 4 ÷ 3	from Skaggs
Baltimore*	5408	3.92	3446	1531	44.4	41.0
Prince George's	2259	1.61	1602†	775	48.4	31.6
Queen Anne's	1742	7.03	1782	813	45.6	44.2
Talbot	1478	12.95	1379	419	30.4	27.3
Totals	10887		8209	3538	43.1	37.0

* Includes Harford County; see note 43.

† This figure, computed alternatively from the ratio of free white males to total taxables in the 1755 census and Karinen's 6128 taxables in 1771, becomes 1633, and Column 5 becomes 47.5. Karinen, "Maryland Population," p. 202.

It is evident that Skaggs' percentages of landowners may indeed have been too low. Yet the relative decline he found in landownership between 1756 and 1771 is confirmed; in fact, it appears that he may have understated it. The numbers of adult white males, in these counties, grew three times as fast as the numbers of landowners. During this period the landless, from a large minority, were converted into a substantial majority. A basis was developing for radical political change.

From these tables estimates of the numbers of qualified voters can be calculated. Using Skaggs' methodology, and relying on some of his inventory research, 29 percent of the freemen did not have £40, and an additional 6 percent of the freeholders did not have 50 acres. The remainder included 8 percent (Skaggs' figure) who were disfranchised as Catholics. Starting with 5633 freemen in Table I, only 3509 or 62 percent were eligible to vote in 1756. For 1771, the 8209 freemen reduces to 5167 or 63 percent.⁴⁴

On this methodology, however, four things must be said. First, the 29 percent of "all freemen" who did not possess £40, and who were deducted from the total, may have included some with 50 acres of poor land who were qualified on it even without having £40. Conversely, and second, some of the freeholders with less than 50 acres surely held £40 estates and should not be subtracted. Both these groups being subtracted, the resulting estimates of eligibles tend to be too low, but more than offsetting their effects is the third point: the inventories do not include all those who died, and are less likely to include those with less property. The 29 percent, therefore, is too low by an unknown amount, and the estimates too high.⁴⁵ Moreover, fourth, the inventory percentages, averaged over a long period and applied to both dates, so overshadow the changes in landowning as to obliterate the effects of these changes on the suffrage.⁴⁶ The figures are presented here only as a sort of upper limit on reasonable estimates.

SUFFRAGE ESTIMATES DERIVED FROM THE TAX LIST DATA

Among historians of Maryland there is no consensus as to the importance of the new suffrage rule in the constitution of 1776. John C. Rainbolt, even in arguing that this constitution was more democratic than is usually thought, still

refers to the change as "a slight reduction in suffrage requirements."⁴⁷ On the other hand, Edward C. Papenfuse, in his introduction to a facsimile edition of the proceedings of the constitutional convention, considers that the suffrage was "significantly broadened." He suggests that about 63 percent of the heads of households could vote under the new rule, up from 55 percent under the £40 sterling requirement.⁴⁸

To ascertain the magnitude of the change in the size of the electorate brought about by the lowering of the property qualification from £40 sterling to £30 current money it would be desirable to compare property holdings at the time of the last election under the old rule (August 1776) with holdings at the first election under the new (December 1776). The data, however, are not available, and even if they were the comparison would be slightly distorted by changes in holdings that occurred during the time interval.

A better method, for which the data are available, is to apply both rules to a single time. The resulting difference of numbers qualifying then measures the impact of the new rule. This is attempted in Table III which shows how voting eligibility might have stood under the £40 rule and under the £30 rule at a hypothetical election in 1783.

Before this can be done it is necessary to allow for the difference in value of sterling and current money. It was noted above that the legislature officially established the pound sterling at £1-2/3 currency in 1777. The stability of the currency was such that the same ratio was set again in 1781, and in January 1787 this act was continued for another three years.⁴⁹ Had the old rule remained in effect, therefore, the requirement would have been equivalent to £66-2/3 current money.

The Maryland tax assessors' lists for 1783 are an almost inexhaustible source of economic, social and political data, more detailed than are available for many other states. From them can be tabulated by counties the numbers of males assessed for fifty or more acres of land and for amounts of property exceeding £66-2/3, between that and £30, and below £30. A tax of fifteen shillings was also laid on able-bodied "single men" not in families, so these are listed separately or indicated clearly; and non-taxed paupers were listed by name so that males can be distinguished. Moreover, the numbers of white inhabitants were usually given for each taxpayer or pauper, a feature that makes possible the omission of absentee landlords from the tabulations and the identification of free blacks.⁵⁰

The tabulations in Table III suggest that, under the colonial franchise, three quarters of the voters were eligible by having fifty or more acres of land. It is clear that the use of the £40 sterling alternative still left power in the hands of the freeholders. The change in 1776 more than doubled the numbers able to vote without holding fifty acres. Yet the fifty-acre landowners retained their dominance of the electorate at 61.2 percent, a fact that helps to explain the continued control of Maryland politics by the great landowning families.

If the 1783 distribution of property was approximated before the Revolution, it would appear that Becker was right: something less than half of the free adult white males were then eligible to vote, since the Catholics, who were disfranchised, must be deducted from the 51.4 percent state-wide figure given in the table. They numbered about seven percent of the population in 1785 so the figure becomes 47.8 percent.⁵¹

TABLE III
Categories of Free Adult White Males and Their Eligibility to Vote

	Landowners with 50 or more acres	Others			Percentage Eligible	
		with £66-2/3 or more	with £30 to £66-2/3	with less than £30	Old Rules (£66-2/3)	New Rules (£30)
Anne Arundel	690	275	184	830	48.8	58.1
Baltimore	962	534	331	1323	47.5	58.0
Calvert	317	101	76	199	60.3	71.3
Caroline	535	89	192	447	49.4	64.6
Cecil	673	160	224	547	51.9	65.9
Charles	624	266	198	582	53.3	65.1
Dorchester	625	224	220	427	56.8	71.5
Frederick	213	176	119	208	54.3	70.9
Harford	715	181	249	909	43.6	55.7
Kent	446	178	97	546	49.3	56.9
Montgomery	699	174	254	739	46.8	60.4
Queen Anne's	692	246	253	400	59.0	74.9
Somerset	839	119	104	394	65.8	72.9
Talbot	342	195	173	531	43.3	57.2
Washington	806	209	460	862	43.4	63.1
Worcester	987	93	87	487	65.3	70.6
Total	10,165	3220	3221	9431	51.4	63.8

Source: Tabulations from assessors' tax lists, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Data are not available for Prince George's and St. Mary's counties. Those for Frederick are not available for 1783 and for Anne Arundel are less complete, so 1782 has been substituted for those counties. Ten counties are complete; Charles, Montgomery, Queen Anne's and Talbot are 98 to 99 percent complete; Baltimore is 69 percent, and Frederick 19 percent, for 76.4 percent of the state. Cecil county's fifth district was computed from the "Names of the Lands" list and averages of other districts.

Columns 1-4: Direct tabulation, omitting entries without white population.

Column 5: Columns 1 and 2 divided by columns 1 through 4.

Column 6: Columns 1 through 3 divided by columns 1 through 4.

The new constitution, by enfranchising Catholics, may have increased the electorate by 7 percent; but numerically, at least, the change to £30 current money was much more significant. This alone expanded the eligible voters by 24 percent.⁵² Even so, more than a third of the free white adult males were still denied this basic privilege.

The change to £30 current money had quite different effects in different counties. The numbers of eligibles not only went up, but the spread of the percentages narrowed in spite of the larger figures. Montgomery county went up by thirteen points and Washington by twenty, while Worcester gained only five and Somerset seven percentage points. These figures reflect differences in the class structures of the counties. In the first two counties the proportion of landowners was much lower and 55 percent of the free white adult males had formerly been disfranchised, while in the latter two only 34 percent had been. Non-landed new voters expanded the electorate by 28 percent in Montgomery

and by 35 percent in Washington, but by less than 5 percent in Worcester. The rule change benefitted the non-landed more than the landed everywhere, but in very different ratios, reaching thirty-two to one in Charles and twenty-four to one in Montgomery where small holdings were very few and large numbers of landless men met the £30 requirement. In three counties (Dorchester, Queen Anne's and Washington) better than a third of the disfranchised white males became eligible, but in Kent and Worcester only 15 percent of them were affected. Somerset and Worcester, which had been the counties with the highest proportions of eligible voters, were replaced in that position by Queen Anne's and Somerset. All of these were Eastern Shore counties. On the other hand, the counties with the lowest proportions before 1776, Talbot and Washington, were replaced by Harford and Kent—in each case one on each shore.

The surviving detailed assessors' reports covered approximately 76.4 percent of the total white population, so the number of eligible voters in the whole state was about 21,738 in 1783, a figure not irreconcilable with the estimate of 25,000 in 1788 cited above.⁵³

The tax assessors, in extant records, listed 656 non-landowners as non-white in 1783, only 56 percent of the actual number of about 1175.⁵⁴ The rest, neither being property like the slaves nor having enough property to tax (£10), were simply ignored by most of the assessors. Of the 656, 233 held £30 or more of property. A few, no doubt, were listed among the landholders, but they cannot be distinguished from the absentees. There were, therefore, some 250 or more former slaves and their descendants who were legally entitled to vote.⁵⁵ If there were 1175 free adult non-white males, this meant that 20.1 percent of them were eligible, compared with 35.4 percent of the white non-landowners. When these non-whites are included along with the whites and the landowners, the state figure for eligibles drops from 63.8 to 62.0 percent of the free adult males.

The impact of the inclusion of the free blacks at the state level is thus not large. At the county level the adult males can be estimated by applying the proportions of non-whites reported in the 1790 census to the 1782 county data on free males eighteen and above and allowing for the growth to 1783.⁵⁶ The assessors' lists of non-white non-landowners can then be used to compute a percentage eligible for the counties, and these figures are given in Table IV for those counties with twenty or more eligibles. But at the county level the numbers are so small, anomalies appear in the reports, and the chain of reasoning is so extended that it is impossible to have confidence in the resulting figures.

To make a virtue of this difficulty, it may be said that the free blacks, even if legally eligible, were never thought of as part of the political society and very rarely tried to participate. To attempt to include them in Table III in spite of the difficulties would make the figures less reliable and less representative of the actual political process. It should be remembered, however, that the percentages are slightly inflated by their exclusion.

When the separate counties are considered, large variations are apparent: from 55.7 percent in Harford to 74.9 percent in Queen Anne's. These variations are not a function of the two shores of the Chesapeake, nor of the older settlements and the newer. It is also unlikely that they are artifacts of the assessors' differing propensities toward tax relief through underassessments of the poor, because

TABLE IV
Comparison of Landowners and Non-Landowners in Eligibility to Vote 1783

	Total Land- owners	Total Non- Landowners	Percentage Landowners	Percentage Eligible to Vote		
				Land- owners	Non-Landowners	
					Whites	Non- Whites
Anne Arundel	806	1173	40.7	98.6	30.2	23.8
Baltimore	1254	1896	39.8	98.9	31.0	41.1
Calvert	343	350	49.5	99.1	44.0	
Caroline	572	691	45.3	98.6	36.5	
Cecil	805	799	50.2	97.3	34.3	
Charles	648	1022	38.8	99.7	43.2	33.8
Dorchester	686	810	45.9	99.0	48.1	41.3
Frederick	410	306	57.3	98.8	33.7	
Harford	803	1251	39.1	98.3	28.5	
Kent	550	717	43.4	98.4	25.1	18.5
Montgomery	718	1148	38.5	99.6	35.9	
Queen Anne's	752	839	47.3	99.9	52.4	
Somerset	921	535	63.3	99.0	28.0	
Talbot	401	840	32.3	99.3	37.1	19.0
Washington	1079	1258	46.2	96.1	34.8	
Worcester	1091	563	66.0	97.3	18.8	
Total	11,839	14,198	45.5	98.4	34.9	20.1

Source: Tabulations from assessors' tax lists, Hall of Records, Annapolis. See Table III for limitations on the data.

Columns 1-2: Direct tabulation, omitting females and entries without white population.

Column 3: Column 1 divided by columns 1-2.

Column 4: Landowners with 50 acres (column 1 of Table III) plus those with more than £30, although less than 50 acres (figures not presented), all divided by column 1.

Column 5: Non-landowners with more than £30 (figures not presented) divided by column 2 (whites only).

Column 6: Non-white non-landowners with more than £30 (figures not presented) divided by county's share of 1175 non-whites (see text).

several assessors worked in each county. The figure for Calvert county may be slightly inflated by the failure to report single men, and those for Queen Anne's and Washington by a similar failure regarding paupers.

When non-landowners are considered separately the freeholder bias of the suffrage rule becomes glaringly apparent. Table IV displays a uniformly high percentage of landholders able to vote. This is true even in those counties, such as Baltimore, Frederick and Washington, with large numbers of smallholders having less than fifty acres.⁵⁷ By contrast, in six counties the percentage among non-landowners was less than one third of that among landowners, and in only one county did it reach one half. Moreover, the percentage of non-landowners eligible varied remarkably from county to county, especially on the Eastern Shore where the two highest and the two lowest of the whole state were found.

Worcester county was the only part of Maryland where fewer than one in five of the landless men could vote, yet the county was well above the state average when the landed men were included since the landless constituted a smaller part of the population than in any other county.

This same Table IV provides data which may be comparable with Tables I and II. Although based on quite different types of sources the figures tend to reinforce each other not only in that they are very similar but also in that they display parallel differences among the counties. To the extent that they are comparable it may be observed that the passage of another dozen years does not confirm the declining trend of landownership in Queen Anne's and Talbot counties found by Skaggs; the 1783 figures are not significantly different from those of 1771. On the other hand, in both Baltimore and Harford counties, which were combined in 1771, the percentage owning land continued to drop. The two counties having almost identical figures, the drop cannot be explained in terms of the growth of Baltimore City.

In spite of this ambivalent result, two other observations may be made. One is that the counties were far from similar in incidence of landownership. Skaggs found a spread of eleven percentage points in 1756 increasing to seventeen in 1771. In 1783 his counties were spread only fifteen points (there are no figures for Prince George's), but over the whole state the range is from 32 to 66 percent. It is therefore hazardous to place much confidence in results obtained from a small sample of counties. Another observation is that Skaggs' selection of counties happened to include the one with the lowest percentage of landownership in the state (at least in 1783) and two other low ones, so that the average percentage for them was 40 percent, while the state average was 45.2 percent. In the earlier years also the landless class may not have been so numerous as his sample suggested. There were four counties, in 1783, where more than half the white freemen owned land.

Yet, aside from the ambiguous evidence of the longitudinal studies, there is another kind of evidence in the tax lists that points toward declining opportunities in Maryland, perhaps toward a more restrictive society. Contrary to the prevailing view of frontier settlements as areas of easily acquired land, the most recently settled counties, still rapidly growing, had lower ratios of landholders than the oldest counties in the state. Harford, Montgomery and Washington counties, created in the 1770s, had a combined proportion of landowners of 41.6 percent while Anne Arundel, Calvert and Kent (the oldest, save St. Mary's for which the data are lost) had 43.1 percent. If Baltimore and Frederick are added to the first group, the whole of western Maryland had an average of 42.1 percent, while the whole eastern shore had 49.9 percent, and five old counties of southern Maryland had 52.9 percent.⁵⁸ The relative fewness of slaves in the western counties did not mean that they were populated by yeomen. On the contrary, to some extent the blacks were replaced by the landless whites.

Even so, confining attention to the landowners, and disregarding the lot owners of Baltimore City, Frederick Town and Georgetown, western Maryland contained some interesting contrasts. In Baltimore, Frederick and Harford counties some six to eleven percent of the landowners held less than fifty acres, figures easily within the range of the older counties. In Montgomery, however, the percentage

may have been the lowest in the state (2.6 percent), while in Washington it was easily the highest (25 percent).⁵⁹ These two counties stood in sharp contrast on another matter also: the prevalence of the absentee landlord. Looking only at holdings of fifty acres or more, only two counties in the state showed as many as a quarter of them without resident white inhabitants, Anne Arundel and Talbot. Washington county was almost entirely free of this phenomenon; it was less than 1 percent absentee, the lowest in the state. Harford and Frederick, with 12 percent, were about average, while Baltimore and Montgomery were high with 21 and 24 percent respectively. Absentee owners, of course, were more numerous than these figures indicate, since many lands were occupied by white leaseholders and overseers; nevertheless the relative differences are significant.

From these circumstances it may be concluded that the state's pattern of large landholdings, many held in absentia, was being imposed on the newer parts of the state in spite of the growing population.⁶⁰ The pattern was taking an extreme form in Montgomery, and was being partially repudiated in the mountains of Washington county.

SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

Exact readings of the potential electorate remain elusive. No more can be claimed for the figures presented here than that they summarize a part of the evidence.

If some 64 percent of the free adult white males could vote in 1783, Maryland was closer to democracy than she had been before the Revolution, when half or more of them had been excluded, and much closer than the Old World of that day. Maryland was, of course, a republic, but to call her a democracy is to play with words. Almost all the white male freeholders could vote while almost two-thirds of the white male non-freeholders could not, nor could four-fifths of the non-white non-landowners nor any of the women, white or not, freeholders or not. This was clearly a class society, with power in the hands of the landowners. Moreover, when the property qualifications for holding office are considered, it was a society with the exercise of power clearly in the hands of the wealthier landowners.⁶¹ The radical thrust of 1776, which had produced the £30 franchise rule and a more equitable system of taxation, had been successfully contained by those concessions.⁶² The experienced yet flexible leaders of the colonial landed gentry correctly judged that the new voting rule would not open the gates of power to the people.

One of the bases for that judgment was their knowledge that voting by the £40 non-landowners had not produced a lower-class challenge to their control of the General Assembly in the colonial period. Even the relaxation of that rule for elections to the conventions of 1774-1776 had not. At the county level they had already learned that non-landowners could be permitted to vote in fair numbers without the sky falling. In Calvert, Charles, Dorchester, and Queen Anne's, under the old rules, about one quarter of them were eligible. The gentry had also learned that non-landowners could be denied the franchise with impunity. In Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Harford, Kent, Somerset, and Worcester an average of 86 percent had been excluded.⁶³

An unexpected finding was the comparatively low proportions of landowners in

the newest counties. Land was cheaper there and thus may have attracted the landless from the older counties, from Pennsylvania, and from Europe more rapidly than they were able to acquire land. The speculators may have had more resources and a better opportunity in western Maryland than they had ever had in the older communities. More research is needed before these low proportions are well understood.⁶⁴

These ratios of landowners were only partly reflected in similar proportions of eligible voters in the newest counties. All of the western counties save Frederick had below-average ratios, but Montgomery and Washington were well above Baltimore and Harford. Differences of land values would account for only a small part of this, since fifty acres brought eligibility regardless of their value. The handicaps of the German settlers may play no role in this, since Frederick county which had the highest number of them also had much the highest percentage of eligibles in western Maryland.⁶⁵ Nor can this finding be explained by slave labor versus free or tobacco versus cereal crops: Montgomery county growing tobacco with slaves differed little in eligibles from Washington growing grain with free labor.

Considering the suffrage in terms of trends over time, the change made by the constitution of 1776 was probably greater than earlier estimates had indicated. But time was probably also eroding those gains. The suffrage was, in practice, so closely tied to land ownership that a decline in the latter was reflected in the former. Not in all counties was such a decline taking place, but the low figures in western Maryland, the rapidly growing part of the state, indicate an over-all downward trend. Baltimore and Harford counties, the only western counties studied by Skaggs, gained landowners between 1756 and 1771 yet the ratio to the landless declined. Between 1771 and 1783 again the numbers grew and the ratio dropped, with little change in either rate. On the Eastern Shore the ratios themselves did not change much from 1771 to 1783, but the absolute numbers of landowners, in both Queen Anne's and Talbot counties, declined. In both counties the percentage eligible to vote must also have declined.

Since this eligibility was based on an economic criterion, such declines indicate deteriorating economic conditions among those on the lower end of the spectrum. The land was filling up and was less and less easy to acquire. To the extent that these data mesh with those of Skaggs they suggest that the congestion of the avenues of upward mobility contributed to the Revolutionary impulse in Maryland, and further, that this congestion had not been relieved but was still accumulating in the 1780s.

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9. *A Relation of Maryland*, Reprinted from the London Edition of 1635, ed. Francis L. Hawks (New York, 1865), pp. 83, 85. The text is also in Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *The Federal, and State Constitutions . . .* (Washington, 1909), 3:1679. The words *Liberi tenentes* (Freeholders) were also used, seemingly without implying a distinction. A discussion of the constitution of the Durham palatinate is included in John S. Bassett, *The Constitutional Beginnings of North Carolina* (Baltimore, 1894), pp. 21-27.
10. These early assemblies are well described in Bernard C. Steiner, *Citizenship and Suffrage in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1895), Francis E. Sparks, *Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689* (Baltimore, 1896), and Albert E. McKinley, *The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America* (Philadelphia, 1905).
11. *Archives of Maryland*, ed. William H. Browne (Baltimore, 1883-), 1:1.
12. *Ibid.*, 27, 130, 141.
13. *Ibid.*, 170.
14. *Ibid.*, 215.
15. *Ibid.*, 3:313; 1:370.
16. *Ibid.*, 8:69; 20:6; 30:612-622; 13:541-544.
17. *Ibid.*, 33:288 (the Act of 1718 is quoted in McKinley, *Suffrage Franchise*, p. 75). This view of the Catholic franchise is contradicted by Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), p. 200, but is supported by McKinley, *Suffrage Franchise*, p. 71.
18. *Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia*, ed. William W. Hening (New York, 1823), 2:280; *Archives of Maryland*, 5:77 (text in McKinley, *Suffrage Franchise*, p. 62).
19. *Archives*, 15:127-129; 7:25, 31, 61.
20. *Ibid.*, 15:378-379; 17:16; 13:542.
21. *Ibid.*, 51:389.
22. *Ibid.*, 27:191-193, 215-216, 275, 321, 358-359; Liber P. C., Chancery Proceedings, p. 595, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City, a History of Annapolis, 1649-1887* (Annapolis, 1887), reprints the charter of November 22, 1708 containing this paragraph (pp. 87-91) as well as the public petition on which it was based (pp. 86-87).
23. Stephen B. Weeks, "The History of Negro Suffrage in the South," *Political Science Quarterly* 9 (December 1894): 671-703.
24. Early in 1777 the pound sterling was set equal to £1-2/3 currency. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1777), Chapter 9 [Evans, 19393].
25. A shift of three votes would have carried it. *Proceedings of the Conventions of the Province of Maryland, Held at the City of Annapolis, in 1774, 1775, and 1776* (Baltimore, 1836), pp. 329-330. Considerable sentiment existed in the state for a manhood, or at least a taxpayer, suffrage. At Annapolis, in the election for the constitutional convention, the militia were urged to lay down their arms if they were not permitted to vote; but cooler counsel prevailed and they desisted. *Calendar of Maryland State Papers*, No. 4, Part 2 (Annapolis, 1953), pp. 82-83.
26. The constitution was not explicit that a resident of Baltimore could, or could not, qualify by ownership of fifty acres elsewhere, but he probably could.
27. Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *The Federal, and State Constitutions* 3:1691-1701, Articles IV-VI. The towns were differentiated in a third way which never became applicable: it was provided that Baltimore (but not Annapolis) would lose its representation if the number of its eligible voters should drop, for seven successive years, below half those of the smallest county.
28. The census of 1790 found 8043 free non-whites in Maryland, just over 3.7 percent of the free population. Three sixteenths of this is 1508.

29. *Laws of Maryland* . . . April 21, 1783 (Annapolis, 1783), Chapter 23 [Evans, 18012]; Anderson v. Baker, 23 *Maryland Reports* 535 (1865), at 579 and 607.
30. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates* . . . 1801 (Annapolis, [1802]), pp. 90, 109; *Votes and Proceedings* . . . 1802 (Annapolis, [1803]), pp. 29, 33; text in *Maryland Gazette*, February 4, 1802, p. 2, and in other papers by order of the Council. The 1810 amendment is in Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 3:1704, but the 1802 amendment is omitted by Thorpe and by Ben: Perley Poore, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters* . . . , 2nd edition Washington, 1878), 1:830. Two petitions against this bill were "preferred and read" but not referred to a committee for consideration. *Votes and Proceedings* . . . 1802, pp. 17, 24. It passed the House 48 to 14 in 1801, and 49 to 17 and the Senate unanimously in 1802.
31. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution* (Baltimore, 1943), pp. 35-39; *Maryland Journal*, May 16, 1788, p. 1.
32. Williamson, *American Suffrage*, p. 35.
33. Skaggs, "Maryland's Impulse Toward Social Revolution: 1750-1776," *The Journal of American History* 54 (March 1968): 772-773. In a footnote calculated in a different way he also gave 69 and 64 percent, without noticing an error in arithmetic: the 69 should be 66 percent.
34. This assumes a steady rate of decline, which is consistent with the estimate of 60 percent for 1771. Skaggs' other estimate of 64 percent for that year can be consistent with Crowl only if an accelerating rate of decline of landownership is assumed.
35. The writer was making an Antifederalist argument that only a small proportion of the eligibles had voted for delegates to the ratifying convention of that year. He might tend to choose a high figure for eligibles.
36. Crowl found his ratio to be one to ten. Jefferson, tackling the same problem in his *Notes on Virginia* (1781), and assuming half the population to be under 16 (which was proven correct by the census of 1790 and again in 1800), arrived at a ratio of one to eight. Using this ratio the 25,000 becomes 58.8 percent.
37. Arthur E. Karinen, "Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland Population, 1631-1840," (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1958), pp. 115-130.
38. *Gentlemen's Magazine* (London), 34 (1764), 261.
39. Karinen's estimates for Prince George's county for subsequent years are based on surviving reports of "taxables." See his "Maryland Population," pp. 5-16, for discussion of the attendant problems, and pp. 198, 206-207.
40. Skaggs wisely eliminated these inventory figures when he included the landowner tables in his *Roots of Maryland's Democracy* (Westport, Conn., 1973).
41. See, for this view, Jackson T. Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, 1965); James A. Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 22 (January 1965): 75-92; Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Land, Population and the Evolution of New England Society, 1630-1770," *Past and Present* 39 (April 1968): 62-80.
42. Scharf Papers, Box 95, item 56, Hall of Records, Annapolis; not in Karinen.
43. For 1755, 75 percent of the free white males sixteen and over were added to the non-taxable free white males (clergy and the poor). For 1782, 85 percent of the free males eighteen and over were reduced, for each county, by its percentage free non-white as derived from the census of 1790, Harford county being included with Baltimore, since it was not separated until 1773. For 1756, one twenty-seventh or 3.70 percent of the difference between 1755 and 1782 was added to the 1755 figure for each county. For 1771, sixteen twenty-sevenths or 59.26 percent of this difference was added. Queen Anne's was then adjusted for the loss of 4000 people in the creation of Caroline County in 1773 as follows. In 1755 white population was 75.3 percent of the total and 11.1 percent was unfree. By 1782 only 56.6 percent was white, so in 1773 about 62.8 percent of the 4000 were white or 2513 whites or 2235 free whites or 419 free white males twenty-one or over (three-sixteenths of the total). The 1771 figure for Queen Anne's was therefore increased by 419, no allowance for the two year gap being attempted. Karinen also found that Talbot dropped 3200 people with the creation of Caroline. In 1755 white population was 65.9 percent of the total and 9.76 percent of this was unfree. By 1782 only 61.9 percent was white, so in 1773 about 63.2 percent of the 3200 were white or 2023 whites, or 1825 free whites or 342 free white males twenty-one or over. The 1771 figure for Talbot was therefore increased by 342. See Karinen, "Maryland Population," pp. 116, 118.
44. $5634 - 29 \text{ percent} = 4000$ with £40; $6 \text{ percent of } 3079 = 185$ freeholders without 50 acres; $4000 - 185 = 3815$; less 8 percent Catholics = 3510 or 62.3 percent eligible; and $8209 - 29 \text{ percent} = 5828$ with £40; 6 percent of 3538 = 212 freeholders without 50 acres; $5828 - 212 = 5616$; less 8 percent Catholics = 5167 or 62.9 percent eligible.
45. On inventory research see Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America*, pp. 288-293.

- Main suggests that the "bottom 10 percent or more of the white population is missing." Adding this 10 percent to Skaggs' 29 percent results in estimates of 53.1 percent for 1756 and 53.7 percent for 1771.
46. Using a for adult males and f for freeholders, the calculation can be expressed as $\frac{.92 (.71a - .06f)}{a}$ which reduces to $.6523 - .0552\left(\frac{f}{a}\right)$. Since $f < a$, the percentage eligible must fall between 59.8 and 65.32 percent.
 47. "A Note on the Maryland Declaration of Rights and Constitution of 1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 66 (Winter, 1971): 427.
 48. Papenfuss and Gregory A. Stiverson (eds.), *The Decisive Blow is Struck* (Annapolis, 1977), sixth unnumbered page.
 49. *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1777), Chapter 9 [Evans 15393]; *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1782), Chapter 16 [Evans 17583]; *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1787), Chapter 35 [Evans 20484].
 50. These tax lists are not without their difficulties. The assessors were not entirely uniform in the format of their reports, and probably not in their practices in the evaluation of land. The ages of the taxpayers were not given, and some, especially among the householders, may have been under twenty-one, although only those aged 21-50 were supposed to be reported as "single men." No reports for Prince George's and St. Mary's counties have survived, and for Anne Arundel and Frederick the reports for 1782 are more complete and have been substituted for 1783. Only Baltimore (69 percent), and Frederick (19 percent) counties are less than 98 percent complete; but the missing reports may be relatively unimportant in this study since all types of persons are included in each report. The assessors for Queen Anne's and Washington did not give the white population by each name, so the absentees and blacks cannot be subtracted. Those for Montgomery did not give an acres figure by each name and it was necessary to estimate in part from the value figure given. Additional discussion of these tax lists can be found in the notes to the article cited in note 62. For the tax rates, definitions, etc., see *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1783), chapt. 6 [Evans 18011].
 51. Father John Carroll, in a report to Rome in 1785, estimated the Catholic population of Maryland at 15,800, including about 3000 slaves. In the decade of the 1780s Maryland's population grew about 30 percent. The white population in 1782 was 170,688. Increasing this figure by 3 percent per year, gives 6.9 percent Catholics in 1785. Other estimates had given nearly 9 percent in 1708, declining to 7.7 percent in the 1750s. See John T. Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America* (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 347, 358, 430, and Karinen, "Maryland Population," pp. 110, 206-207.
 52. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution*, p. 33, called this a "minor modification in the existing law," and thought the religious change "a more important reform."
 53. Assuming a steady rate of growth of 30 percent in the decade, and 21,738 voters in 1783, the figure for 1788 works out at 24,999.
 54. The census of 1782 found 36,268 free males aged 18 and over in the state. If 85 percent of these were 21 and over, and 3.7 percent were non-white, there were about 1141 free adult non-white males in 1782. Adding 3 percent for the growth rate gives 1175 in 1783. All of these figures for non-whites are very tentative.
 55. It is not legitimate to apply the 76.4 percent coverage of the state by the tax lists because most of the missing data are from Frederick, Prince George's and Baltimore counties, two of which were far below the state average in free blacks in 1790.
 56. This process of estimation, as described in note 54 above, when separately applied to each county, leads to a total of 1244. Apparently adult males were not distributed in 1782 in quite the same proportions that all ages and sexes were in 1790.
 57. The landowners, of course, had the advantage that fifty acres made them eligible even though their total wealth might be less than £30. Much land was assessed at less than ten shillings per acre, and many smallholders reached £30 only on the basis of their other property.
 58. The last two figures are influenced by the high ratios in Somerset and Worcester counties on the southern eastern shore. If these are eliminated, however, the figures remain higher than western Maryland: 44.5 and 43.5 percent. Moreover, the ratio for Frederick county is somewhat inflated by the inclusion of lot owners in Frederick Town, one of the three surviving lists from that county.
 59. The Montgomery figure is less reliable than the others (see note 50 above). All holdings of less than 50 acres were tabulated from the "Names of the Lands" list by the name of the holder, and those names eliminated whose total land holdings showed higher assessments than the total of their smallholdings.
 60. Stiverson found a modal holding of 100-199 acres in five of the six counties he studied in detail. Calvert had slightly more holdings below 100 acres. Gregory A. Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth Century Maryland* (Baltimore, 1977), pp. 144-145. See also

Clarence P. Gould, *The Land System in Maryland, 1720-1765* (Baltimore, 1913), especially chapter 3 on speculation. Holdings in Virginia were even larger.

61. For the House of Delegates £500 was required; for senator, sheriff, or Congressman, £1000; and for governor, £5000.
62. On the turning of the radical flank in the constitution, see Thornton Anderson, "Maryland's Property Qualifications for Office: A Reinterpretation of the Constitutional Convention of 1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73 (December 1978): 327-339.
63. These statements are based on the numbers eligible under the £40 sterling rule in 1783. The political leaders had no such figures, of course, but worked skillfully from their impressions of the facts.
64. Stiverson, who investigated Harford as one of his sample of six counties, found it remarkably similar to Calvert and Caroline in size of landholdings and in total assessments of both landholders and non-landholders. Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty*, pp. 144-147. His figures differ from mine in being derived from the "Names of the Lands" lists, including women, and omitting the single men.
65. The Frederick figures are less reliable than others, being based on only 19 percent coverage of the county. The other tax lists are lost.

John S. Skinner's *American Farmer*: Breeding and Racing the Maryland "Blood Horse," 1819-1829

JACK W. BERRYMAN

MARYLANDERS HAVE LONG SUPPORTED 'THE SPORT OF KINGS' BUT FEW HAVE played a more important role in establishing this sport in Maryland than John Stuart Skinner (1788-1851).¹ Between 1819 and 1829, Skinner and his Baltimore-based publication, the *American Farmer*, were instrumental in encouraging the systematic breeding of thoroughbred horses and the subsequent formalized recording system for their pedigrees. At a time when few others realized the necessity for such a tedious task, Skinner took the lead in stimulating and even popularizing a concern for the true "blood horse." In addition, his constant support for horse racing as the only true test of fine breeding, served to promote and disseminate the sport throughout the Eastern part of the United States. During Skinner's tenure as editor, competition evolved from local personal challenges between horses with questionable pedigrees, to contests between cities and state clubs utilizing the finest bred horses, all under the auspices of a well-regulated and supervised track facility. Continued "testing" of the breed led to further competition in the form of intersectional match races and international contests between horses from England and the United States. And, in most cases, Skinner, through the *American Farmer*, was responsible for instigating the contest, selecting a race site and date, advertising the event, and then publishing a descriptive account of the meet itself.

Skinner had a love for fox hunting, horse racing, and dogs, and his personal feelings concerning the value of exercise and sport for health and overall well-being were instrumental in his decision to include such matters in his agriculturally-oriented magazine.² Whereas other editors were content and motivated only to treat purely technical agricultural matters, Skinner was deeply concerned with all aspects of farmers' lives and their interrelationships with society at large.³ Specifically, Skinner recognized the important value of the horse in American agriculture and viewed the active selective breeding of thoroughbred stock as a necessity for quality transportation, as a viable financial investment for the agriculturist, and as a dependable animal for the hunt. Skinner believed everyone who bred a horse should attempt to acquire the best possible progeny for their money and as far as he was concerned, the only true test of breed was the "trial of speed" or the race.⁴

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From the initial issue on April 2, 1819 through 1821, the *American Farmer* contained references to sports of several kinds.⁵ However, Skinner devoted most of the space allocated for sport to material dealing with horse racing and improving the breed of horses. He had always fostered an interest in improving the breed of animals in general, and in fact, felt so strongly about the values of animals that he often spoke out against their mistreatment.⁶ The desire to improve the breed of horses seemed to be a natural specialization evolving from his concerns for other agriculturally related animals and it was a field of endeavor which related directly to horse racing, the favorite pastime of many of his more wealthy subscribers.⁷

Accordingly, between 1819 and 1824 Skinner pioneered in the *American Farmer* with advertisements which listed personal requests to purchase horses,⁸ recorded horses for sale,⁹ announced upcoming racing meetings,¹⁰ and registered horses at stud.¹¹ He was also the forerunner in the publishing of reports or listings of race results,¹² individual horses' performances,¹³ stud listings and pedigrees,¹⁴ and rules and regulations for race courses.¹⁵ Lastly, Skinner was the first magazine editor to include detailed feature stories dealing with the advantages and disadvantages of horse racing, the best methods of improving the breed of horses, the detailed descriptions of important race events, and the complete rules, regulations, and governance procedures of the few state societies for the improvement of the breed of horses.¹⁶ By December 1824, Skinner and his *American Farmer* were rapidly becoming known, respected, and patronized by the "horse set" of antebellum America. He had provided the first regular and sustained outlet for sports with the horse which was truly American in its content and primary focus.¹⁷

Skinner and a number of his subscribers felt very strongly about the necessity for improving the breed of horses and consequently, the topic received considerable attention. As early as 1820, Skinner proposed the importation of "an English stallion to improve the breed of coach, mail, and gig horses" and spoke of procuring a horse from Spain "to meliorate the breed of our saddle horses."¹⁸ Sir John Sinclair of England wrote to Skinner concerning importing "a moderate sized blood stallion" which would produce a breed "fit for all useful purposes; and some of them might do even for the turf."¹⁹ This desire to improve the breed of animals and especially horses, led Skinner to purchase approximately two hundred acres near "Maryland Tavern," about four miles outside of Baltimore on the "Great Western Turnpike Road." He was sponsored by Robert Oliver and Major Issac McKim to start a "stock farm" in early 1821, the first American attempt to improve domestic animals on "a settled and permanent plan."²⁰ In a letter to Oliver requesting his support, Skinner said,

some of the most valuable animals, assuredly of genuine blood are within our reach in this country. . . . It takes the salary of my office to support my Family—I shall have to pay for the farm \$3000 down and it will take the income of my paper to pay the balance in installments. Thus it is that recourse must be had to the liberality of patriotic Gentlemen for the means of procuring the stock in the first instance.²¹

He was exceedingly interested in a horse that could "rack 14 or 15 miles an hour" and desired to "import a mare of the pure Cleveland Bay breed."²² Skinner also purchased and imported hogs, goats, sheep, and specifically, a variety of breeds

of cattle, from the most eminent British stock-raisers.²³ Sir John Sinclair, Charles Champion, and Sir Alexander Don, all took an active interest in the stock improvement project and volunteered information freely.²⁴ Skinner did such a fine job that the Maryland Agricultural Society voted to present him with three costly pieces of silver plate as a compliment for his service to the art of breeding.²⁵

Others besides Skinner noticed the lack of good breeding methods and breeding stock and did not hesitate to make their feelings known in the pages of the *American Farmer*. One correspondent, addressing his message "To the Breeders of The Virginia Race-Horse," argued that:

It therefore behoves you, from a consideration of profit as well as a matter of pride, to devote a greater attention to the breeding and rearing of your horses than you have lately. . . . The value of the *race horse* is daily becoming better known; from Virginia they are sought, and as the demand increases, will your profit enlarge. . . . I would recommend the preservation of, and a strict regard to pedigree—a care to the perfection and blood of your stallions. . . . The community have a deep interest in every fine horse, and the owner should never so far forget it as to think alone of his individual profit.²⁶

Another subscriber believed the "English blood-horse" was the "best for every purpose" and that American horses "should be improved by such as bear the test of the Turf; the innocent sports of which should be regulated and patronized." He went on to explain why the race course was the best test of breed.

The turf does not merely ascertain speed, but by the distance run, and high weights carried, the strength and stamina of the animal is fully tried. . . . That we have greatly deteriorated in our breed of horses, for the last twenty years, is indisputable. . . . *We must again patronize the turf*, and avoid the evil which destroyed it.²⁷

Contrary to popular belief of the time, one reader of the *American Farmer* disagreed with the premise that the English horses were the best stock,²⁸ but a rebuttal soon followed from John Randolph, the leading Virginia breeder.²⁹ Finally, Skinner succeeded in introducing horses to the competition for prizes at agricultural shows and fairs. He justified judging horses along with cattle, hogs, and sheep on the grounds that:

The horse has been the theme of admiration in all ages, and is of such great use in the affairs of Agriculture, Commerce, War and Sporting, that all laudable means, should be used to improve the breed of an animal, at once so noble, and extensively employed. We are happy to discover a spirit in our state favourable to this improvement, and no doubt, the institution of premiums by the Society, will have a most happy effect.³⁰

Skinner and his concerned correspondents had considerable success in convincing many people of the necessary task of improving horse breeds and perhaps more importantly, assisted in establishing the all important rationale for the building and patronage of race tracks.

Skinner's love and attraction for fine thoroughbred horses began to be directed towards the race track as a true test of breeding as early as 1820, but it was not until 1823 that he started to consider seriously the importance of horse racing in producing and exhibiting the finest qualities in horsemanship. In keeping with

Skinner's earlier success with a "stock farm" and the general interest in horse racing, many of the members of the Maryland Agricultural Society banded together at a meeting in Baltimore on August 22, 1823, to form the Maryland Association for the Improvement of the Breed of Horses. Skinner was elected one of several "Managers" and E. L. Finley, who owned the farm near Canton where the Association's official track was built, became the secretary. The First Annual Races were scheduled for three days commencing on October 22nd, and Skinner took an active interest in the affair.³¹ In a letter to Edward Lloyd, a U.S. Senator and good friend, Skinner asked: "Will you be at our races on the 22?" and proclaimed that his "agricultural correspondence prevents me from writing you as often as my wishes dictate."³² The race course became ever popular to Skinner as the truest test of the highest qualities and the real "speed and bottom" of the horse and he condoned the "fair trials of speed," especially since no gambling was permitted at the races. As a result, Skinner began to modify a once-general interest in improving the blood lines of all farm animals to a specific desire to upgrade the pedigrees of the pure bred horse.

It is not surprising then to discover that Skinner sought and published a number of lengthy articles, reports, and stories offering news of, and support for, the sport of horse racing. One reader claimed he had "always been of opinion that nothing would so much contribute to preserve for us a fine race of Horses, as the keeping up on a *respectable footing*, the amusements of the turf."³³ Just before the classic confrontation between "Eclipse" and "Henry" in 1823, Skinner reprinted an article from the *New York American* which promised the races would yield "more sport than has ever before been offered on a similar occasion in any part of this country" and would "afford more gratification than the sportsmen of this country have yet enjoyed."³⁴ A detailed report of the North-South match was provided by Skinner who believed that the results served "to show that we have now in the United States, some first rate horses; some, that for *continuance of swift running*, may be well compared with the best of which we have any record."³⁵ Such a statement was sure to arouse comparisons with the best English horses, and sure enough, in the next issue, a list depicting "a just account of the most extraordinary English performances in *speed upon the turf*" was provided. The compiler of the list, portraying the typical nationalistic feeling of many American horsemen, then asked:

Can it be presumptuous in me then, to assert, that there is not on record any horse other than Childers, that has done the full fair four miles in less time than Sir Henry did his first four miles on Tuesday, and that there is no horse on record that has done the same distance in the same time with Eclipse at his age.³⁶

Later issues contained a series of challenge letters reprinted from the *New York Evening Post* and the *New York American* in which bets were promised up to \$50,000 for the horse that could defeat "Henry."³⁷

All of the material printed in the *American Farmer* was not as favorable to horse racing, however. In a letter of rebuttal to an article by John Randolph who claimed he would rather his son had seen a rider finish a race without bridle or reins than go to school for twelve months,³⁸ the unknown respondent stated to Skinner:

If, sir, you must, to please a part of your subscribers, fill the Farmer with tales of races between horses and genealogies of colts and fillies, their sires and grandmas, though better in sporting magazines, at least preserve your sheets pure from insults to the most sober, considerate, and feeling part of the society, the moral and religious men, who, though not ennobling horses, will be always found the best citizens, patriots, and friends of mankind.³⁹

Seemingly undaunted by such criticism, Skinner continued to publish horse racing material, but in November of the same year he printed his most elaborate defense of the sport.

With respect to Racing, were we required to justify, by authority, our approbation of that, without going back beyond our own time or country, we would produce the names of Gen. LaFayette, the Nation's Guest, John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, Rufus King, Senator of the U.S. [N.Y.]. . . —with Thomas Jefferson, John Randolph, the venerable Judge Duvall, Secretaries Adams and Calhoun, and many others of the greatest and best men of the Nation.⁴⁰

He believed horse racing was

a publick exhibition of qualities and character, where all naturally desire to appear well, where laws of honour are enforced, where social feelings are cultivated, [and] where ideas are interchanged.⁴¹

Skinner's position on the matter was unmistakably presented and the support for the variety of opinions expressed by his correspondents was quite obvious throughout volumes four, five, and six. At the close of 1824, the scene was set for increased horse racing coverage in the contents of the *American Farmer*.

Under Skinner's editorship, the *American Farmer* included reports and news stories pertaining to sport since its inception, but until 1824, sporting news was always subordinate to that of agriculture, internal improvements, and other topics like domestic economy. But, beginning in the September 17, 1824 issue, Skinner began to experiment with a section called "Sporting Intelligence."⁴² The section or column title changed to "Sporting Calendar"⁴³ and then to "Rural Sports" in the issue for November 19, 1824.⁴⁴ Then, on January 21, 1825, Skinner published the initial installment of America's first regular sporting magazine section, the "Sporting Olio."⁴⁵ The column gained immediate attention from the farmer-horsemen who subscribed to the magazine and Skinner began to rapidly realize the interest he was creating in rural sports, specifically horse racing and fox hunting. John Randolph of Roanoke, Virginia, one of the leading horse breeders in the South, began to correspond on a regular basis with Skinner and suggested that he publish a limited edition of an American stud book.⁴⁶ Randolph also made frequent mention of two of his horses, "Mark Antony" and "Rinaldo," whose names adorned many issues of the *American Farmer* as being available for stud.⁴⁷ Skinner's magazine soon became a "sounding board" for the ideas and data concerning the necessity of accumulating and publishing stud lists for American horses. Particularly influential were the agriculturists and breeders of Virginia, who respected Skinner's efforts and trusted his organizational abilities.⁴⁸ By the end of the year in 1826, Skinner had become directly associated with all of the leading turfmen in the South and most of those in the North. These contacts

became more and more important to the success of his "Sporting Olio" and served to spur Skinner toward further efforts in horse breeding and racing.

As before, the largest portion of sport-related material included in the *American Farmer* after 1825, dealt with horse pedigrees and horse racing. Skinner listed pedigrees of horses, advertised horses at stud, and printed articles on the values and characteristics of "blooded" horses. In relationship to racing, thought to be the only true test of the breed, Skinner published announcements for races, results of races, methods for training racers, techniques for racing, and guidelines for choosing horses for the race course. As the newly elected Vice President of the Maryland Association for the Improvement of the Breed of Horses, Skinner devoted particular attention to his home course, Canton, in the columns of the "Sporting Olio."⁴⁹ In an attempt to justify horse racing and to reach the more conservative farmers who read the *American Farmer*, Skinner explained that

the Canton course is intended to afford a standard to measure the powers of the most promising colts which may be reared in this state, and to give to their skillful and enterprising breeders the means of establishing the characters of such as have powers to *excell.* . . . To use an illustration familiar to farmers, the standard erected on the turf is as necessary to cleanse, and purify, and perpetuate the breed of fine horses, as is the sieve to winnow and separate the chaff and other offal from sound grain.⁵⁰

However, Skinner's argument did not go uncontested. In keeping with his own personal desire to honestly represent his readership, Skinner published in a subsequent number, a rebuttal titled "Racing, Recommendation of, as a means of improving the breed of horses—condemned." The author, "A Farmer," noted:

In your last paper, I read with some degree of surprise, a recommendation of racing as a means of improving the breed of *horses*. What next? Shall we have boxing for the improvement of men, and *cock-fighting* for the improvement of poultry? To say the least of it, such a scheme does not appear to me to suit the columns of a paper devoted to agriculture, rural economy and the useful arts. . . . Your paper is calculated to be highly useful to the great body of the people, the farmers of the United States. Let them, their wives and children, remain at home. Do not, I beseech you, invite them to the race course.⁵¹

Although the unknown author seemed to make a valid point, Skinner remained undaunted by the piece and headed toward an overt attempt to support and promote the cause of the thoroughbred horse.

Between 1825 and 1829, Skinner mounted a personal attack against American farmers for their failure to select the best thoroughbred stock for breeding purposes and continually dwelled upon the many advantages of the "blooded" horse. In so doing, he utilized a variety of methods within the "Sporting Olio" column to illustrate his point. In a comment appended to a report where a man was offered \$2,000 for four colts, Skinner asked:

Is not this incident sufficient to induce *breeders* to be more select in the animals that they breed from? It costs no more to sustain one of acknowledged worth, than one confessedly indifferent; . . . Which is the most profitable, raising calves or colts? The former, in our community, generally sell when 15 months old at \$10, or thereabouts—our blood horses, when at the same age they command \$500.⁵²

On another occasion, in an attempt to convince farmers to raise their own colts, Skinner said:

... let every owner of a mare, whatever may be her qualities, if she is deemed worthy of being put to any horse, let her go to none but *Thorough Bred horses, of the best stock, if to be found within any reasonable distance*. The wind, the muscle, the spirit, the longevity, of the English blood horse, is essential in all attempts to improve the existing vulgar, thick winded, clumsy 'jodish' race.⁵³

In order to assist farmers in their breeding, Skinner personally arranged for noted thoroughbreds to stand at stud at a variety of locations at a reduced price, so every horse owner would have an opportunity to breed to the finest stallions.⁵⁴ He even remarked that his "own blooded horse Champion," traveled forty miles from Washington to Baltimore "without a blow or a word, and without distress" and noted: "If time be money, to an industrious man, this shews [*sic*] the economy of a blooded horse, with foot and wind."⁵⁵ And, as noted earlier, Skinner was instrumental in adding a prize category for "Horses and Mares" to the annual "Cattle Show" of the Maryland Agricultural Society. Accordingly, Skinner could boast of exhibiting horses "considered to be of the best blood of the country," which he hoped would encourage American farmers, particularly those in his own area of Maryland, to be more selective in their breeding procedures.⁵⁶

Overly concerned with the agriculturists of his own state, Skinner claimed he would

persevere until some of the obstructions are removed which heretofore prevented the farmers of Maryland from paying greater attention to the qualities of the horses bred by themselves—and more especially to the propagation of the *blooded* horse.⁵⁷

In a later pointed attack at the lack of consideration shown for thoroughbreds, Skinner attempted to shame horse breeders into the use of "blooded" stallions.

Most people will sooner send their mares to an old fielder, or to some gangling brute without a single quality, but flesh and fat, to recommend him, provided they can get their services for \$5. So they get a colt, they care little about blood, bone, sinew, wind, or courage, and will rear some vulgar animal . . . at the same expense that they could, by a fine *thorough bred* horse, have a colt that, when grown, would take them on the wings of the wind with unfailing spirit, or sell in our streets for \$200.⁵⁸

Evidently, Skinner's personal campaign for the improvement of the breed of horses did not go unnoticed. He was unanimously elected President of the "New" Maryland Association For the Improvement of the Breed of Horses in 1828 and reported several evidences of his ideas being accepted throughout the United States.⁵⁹ A request was received from Tallahassee, Florida for the rules of the "Maryland Association," in which the correspondent noted "that the spirit for the 'improvement of the breed of horses,' has extended to this distant territory."⁶⁰ Another reader commented that "the spirit of improvement in horses is certainly abroad in the West" particularly in "the neighborhood of Lexington and Danville, Kentucky."⁶¹ Lastly, a New Jersey Association for Improving the Breed of Horses, and for Purchasing a Stud Horse of the Best Blood, was formed and patterned after that of the Maryland Association.⁶²

Another important facet of Skinner's desire to improve the breed of horses, was his insistence upon the need of an "American Stud Book" for the accurate recording of thoroughbred horse pedigrees.⁶³ Accordingly, he devoted a considerable amount of space in his "Sporting Olio" to the topic. Skinner's first mention of the project to collect pedigrees appeared in the issue of December 23, 1825:

The work has engaged much attention for several years—considerable matter has been collected, and it is now advancing to maturity. That it may be as full and perfect as possible, all persons who have any fondness for horses and are disposed to contribute . . . [and those] who have been, or are now engaged in breeding the blooded horse, are earnestly solicited to forward, as soon as possible . . . an account of their stock of horses at present or at any former time owned.⁶⁴

Skinner offered his immediate support for the project by attaching a note saying: "The particular attention of our readers is invited to the following. The utility and value of such a work are too obvious to need any illustration." A reader brought the "Stud Book" to the attention of Skinner again, three months later, in the following letter.

A gentleman of the South of Virginia [one of the most extensive breeders of Horses in the U. States] has been many years employed, at vacant hours, in compiling, for his own use and amusement, a Stud Book. . . . Profit is no object to him—but, believing such a work to be a *desideration* to breeders, sportsmen and amateurs, he wishes to be enabled to form a tolerably correct estimate of the number of copies which he may order to be struck off, without incurring loss.⁶⁵

Again, Skinner provided his assistance by collecting a list of interested subscribers.

In March of 1826, Skinner began publishing lists of pedigrees sent to him by the leading horse breeders and in so doing, made the *American Farmer* a forerunner to the not yet realized "Stud Book." He published "a list of the foals dropped last season" to the "Stud of a Gentleman of the South of Virginia"⁶⁶ and began reprinting an eleven part series titled "Annals of the Turf" by "An Advocate For The Turf," which had previously appeared in the *Petersburg* (Virginia) *Intelligencer*.⁶⁷ Skinner's reasons for reprinting the series were obviously directed to the formation of a "Stud Book" as can be seen from the anonymous author's introduction.

It must be interesting to the amateur, the sportsman and the breeder, to give a correct, though concise account of the most distinguished turf stock of blood horses, which existed in Virginia between the years 1750 and 1790. . . . In recommending renewed efforts to the Virginians, for the further improvement and preservation of their stock of blood horses, the necessity and importance of the immediate publication of a Stud Book, (and of a racing calendar hereafter) cannot be overlooked. It is the wish of the writer, that the tendency of this, and of the following numbers, may excite a spirit and a desire for such a work, by shewing [sic] that there are valuable materials extant.⁶⁸

Then, in May, 1827, as a result of a valued correspondent's suggestion the month before,⁶⁹ Skinner began to accept and publish the pedigrees of individual thoroughbred horses. His decision set a precedent for the publication and recording

of pedigrees by the *American Farmer* and led to a further accumulation of data necessary for a "Stud Book."⁷⁰ However, horsemen promised a "Stud Book" began to get impatient and voiced their concerns via the columns of the "Sporting Olio." All was not a loss though, for one reader, although writing because of his "great disappointment," noted his pleasure "that a valuable portion of information on the subject has found its way into the *American Farmer*."⁷¹

Despite Skinner's willingness to promote a "Stud Book" and the obvious interest of the leading horsemen in the United States, the project still had not come to fruition by July, 1827. Renewed hope appeared, however, when J. J. Harrison wrote to Skinner wishing to obtain

*all the pedigrees of horses that you have in your possession, and those that you can procure without too much trouble. Horses and mares, of distinction, are wanted for the 'Stud Book' that is now in a state of forwardness. I hope it will be ready for publication in five or six months;*⁷²

Skinner, wishing to comply with the request, began a renewed emphasis on printing and soliciting pedigrees of "blooded horses."⁷³ By the end of the next month, probably stimulated by Harrison's request, another horseman reiterated the need for a "Stud Book."

It is my opinion that it would be the most profitable publication that ever could come from the American press. . . . The pedigrees of all fine horses ought to be systematically arranged and well authenticated, and embodied into a lasting and durable form.⁷⁴

Then, in the same issue, Skinner unhesitatingly volunteered his *American Farmer* as an outlet for all pedigrees until a "Stud Book" could be completed.

Until such a work can be given to the publick, by a competent hand, and as a means, in fact, of accelerating an object so much wanting, it will be well to preserve in the *American Farmer*, the pedigrees of celebrated horses, which are now scattered through the country, and more liable every day to be utterly lost—whereas, if they are once recorded in the *American Farmer*, they will be saved for future use. They will all be there regularly indexed, and may be easily found by reference to them for particular purposes, or collected in any regular work that may be put forth.⁷⁵

An eleven part series titled "Pedigrees of Valuable Horses," followed in the *American Farmer*.⁷⁶ But, by mid-March, 1828, the proposed "Stud Book" was still not available. Skinner, however, still optimistic that such a book would be published, noted that

in the mean time, and until such a work is issued, we have offered a few columns of our agricultural journal, as a safe and permanent repository for the many scattered, but well authenticated pedigrees that are in danger of being lost amongst the papers of individuals—being once secured in the *Farmer*, they may be afterwards arranged and published in the form of a stud book.⁷⁷

Another series, this time titled "Pedigrees of Thorough Bred Horses" and in nine parts, was furnished by the author of "Annals of the Turf" and began appearing in the *American Farmer* in May, 1828.⁷⁸ Still receiving complaints from readers about the failure of a "Stud Book,"⁷⁹ Skinner did all he could by

continuing to publish known pedigrees and advertising for those not yet recorded. As late as April, 1829, Skinner was still hoping for a "Stud Book" and kept his promise to those compiling data by publishing still another series, "Pedigrees of Celebrated Horses," in four parts.⁸⁰ By September, still no "Stud Book" was available. Here was one of the important reasons Skinner initiated his *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* that same month.⁸¹

By 1828, the "Sporting Olio" had become one of the most popular sections of the *American Farmer* and was supported by a substantial group of American sportsmen. But, the immense task of preparing the weekly publication and doing all of the other necessary work as editor and owner, besides his duties as Postmaster of Baltimore, led Skinner to seek a partner and half owner. In July, Skinner published a notice titled "The American Farmer—One half for Sale" and attached a short statement saying:

the correspondence connected with it has become so burdensome that he is desirous of selling one half of it to a partner, who will himself, or by a trusty agent, keep the books and conduct the business part of the correspondence. . . . The Editorship to be retained by the subscriber, who wishes in hours of leisure from official duties, to give it increased attention.⁸²

Skinner evidently did not receive any offers, because the following February he printed a similar advertisement.

For sale an interest in the 'American Farmer' establishment. A certain and handsome result would be guaranteed to the purchaser, and, with a view to the still greater extension of the paper, it would be preferable, though not indispensable, that he should reside, and act as agent, in one of the states south of the Potomac.⁸³

Then, without any further mention of selling a part of the *American Farmer*, Skinner announced in the last issue of August in the "Sporting Olio," the prospectus for his new *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*.⁸⁴ Whether the idea of initiating a new sporting magazine was the reason for Skinner's desire to part with the *American Farmer* is not known. Regardless of his previous desires however, Skinner maintained his editorship of the *American Farmer* and edited the first number of the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* for its September, 1829, debut.

Beginning with the announcement in August, 1829, Skinner continued to inform the readers of the *American Farmer* about the progress of the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*. In a "Note to the Editor of the Sporting Magazine," a reader wrote that he rejoiced that there was "at last an elegant repository which will beget a fondness for healthy rural sports, and where no gentleman will be ashamed to see his feats and his name."⁸⁵ In a later number, Skinner told the *American Farmer* readers that:

So great has been the demand for this useful and entertaining work, that it has been found necessary to order a second edition of five hundred copies; gentlemen of the first intelligence and standing, not satisfied with merely subscribing, are so anxious for its success, that they have requested the editor to send them subscription papers. . . . the *American Sporting Magazine* may compare, in point of taste and execution, (in which, be it said, he has little agency himself) with any periodical of the

kind abroad. The *Turf Register* may, therefore, already be considered an *established work*.⁸⁶

He also included subscription prices, printed the table of contents, and even reprinted material from the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* in the "Sporting Olio" column. Although Skinner had the *Turf Register*, he still kept the "Sporting Olio" until the October 30th issue of 1829.⁸⁷ Then, thereafter, Skinner continued to advertise the *Turf Register* in the *American Farmer* and reprint articles, especially those dealing with veterinary concerns and natural history.⁸⁸ This procedure continued until August 27, 1830, when Skinner finally sold the *American Farmer* to Messrs. I. Irvine Hitchcock & Co. of Baltimore, who hired Gideon B. Smith, a local horticulturist and friend of Skinner, as their editor.⁸⁹

REFERENCES

I would like to thank Alan Fusonie, Curator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the National Agricultural Library, Beltsville, Maryland; Wayne Rasmussen and Vivian Wiser, historians with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.; Harold T. Pinkett, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Richard J. Cox, formerly of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; Walter Rundell, Jr., University of Maryland, College Park; Lucretia Ramsey Bishko, Charlottesville, Virginia; and Alexander Mackay-Smith, National Sporting Library, Middleburg, Virginia, for their assistance during the early stages of this research.

1. Both Skinner and his *American Farmer* magazine have received attention in historical journals over the years. However, most historians have tended to neglect or treat sparingly, the major contributions of Skinner and the *American Farmer* to the breeding and racing of thoroughbred horses. For example, the reader is directed to: Harold T. Pinkett, "The *American Farmer* A Pioneer Agricultural Journal, 1819-1834," *Agricultural History* 24 (July 1950): 146-151; Idem., "A Forgotten Patriot," *Social Studies* 40 (December 1949): 354-355; Harold A. Bierck, Jr. "Spoils, Soils, and Skinner," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 49 (March 1954): 21-40 and (June 1954): 143-155; Lucretia Ramsey Bishko, "John S. Skinner Visits the Virginia Springs, 1847," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 80 (April 1972): 158-192; and, Idem., "The Agricultural Society of Albemarle and John S. Skinner: An Enduring Friendship," *Magazine of Albermarle County History* 31 (1973): 76-113.
2. The only major work dealing with Skinner's illustrious sporting career is Harry Worcester Smith, *A Sporting Family of the Old South: With Which is Included Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman by Frederick Gustavus Skinner* (Albany, N.Y., 1936).
3. For an elaboration of these ideas and further information concerning the *American Farmer* see, Jack W. Berryman, "John Stuart Skinner and the *American Farmer*, 1819-1829: An Early Proponent of Rural Sports," *Associates NAL (National Agricultural Library) Today* 1 (October 1976): 11-32.
4. Information on early nineteenth century American horse breeding and racing can be found in: James D. Anderson, *Making the American Thoroughbred. Especially in Norwood, Tennessee, 1800-1845* (Norwood, Mass., 1916); John R. Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950* (Reading, Mass., 1974); Fairfax Harrison, *The Roanoke Stud, 1795-1833* (Richmond, Va., 1930); Idem., *The Background of the American Stud Book* (Richmond, Va.: Old Dominion Press, 1933); Idem., *Early American Turf Stock, 1730-1830; Being a Critical Study of the Extant Evidence for the English, Spanish and Oriental Horses and Mares to Which are Traced the Oldest American Turf Pedigrees* (2 volumes; Richmond, Va., 1934-35); John Hervey, *Racing in America: 1665-1865* (2 volumes; New York, 1944); Jennie Holliman, *American Sports (1785-1835)* (Durham, N.C., 1931); Alexander Mackay-Smith, *The Thoroughbred in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1785-1842* (Winchester, Va., 1948); and, John H. Wallace, *The Horse of America in His Derivation, History, and Development* (New York, 1897).
5. The first volume included a story from an English newspaper entitled "The Velocipede, or Swift Walker" and was accompanied by a woodcut depicting a man riding the new vehicle. *American Farmer* 1 (May 28, 1819): 69. (Hereafter abbreviated as *AF*). Other articles dealt with "Bodily Disease," "On the Art of Swimming," "Mr. Guille's Ascension," "On Duelling," and "Aerial Combat" (pugilism). See: *AF* 1 (August 6, 1819): 151-52; 152; 20 (August 13, 1819): pp. 158-59; and 23 (September 3, 1819): 184. An advertisement for the "Easton Jockey Club Races," the first

- mention of horse racing, also appeared in this volume. *AF* 1 (September 17, 1819): 200. The second and third volumes had a few advertisements for horse sales, horses at stud, and desires to purchase "blooded horses." *AF* 2 (December 1, 1820): 288; 48 (February 23, 1821): 384; and 3 (April 13, 1821): 24. An excerpt from *Cobbett's Year's Residence in America* titled "Rural Sports" and short reports on pedestrianism, "a pidgeon [sic] match," and grouse shooting reprinted from the *London Farmer's Journal*, completed the sport coverage. *AF* 2 (April 7, 1820): 11-13 and *AF* 3 (November 23, 1821): 278.
6. For information on Skinner's desire to improve the breed of animals in general, see: "On the Principles of Improving the Breed of Domestic Animals," *AF* 2 (December 29, 1820): 316-318; "A Stock Farm," *AF* 2 (March 16, 1821): 404; "Brief Notice of the male animals already procured, and now ready for service, on the Editor's Stock Farm . . .," *AF* 3 (April 13, 1821): 24; and, "For Sale or Auction," *AF* 5 (October 31, 1823): 256. Later in his career, Skinner also wrote, *The Dog and the Sportsman. Embracing the Uses, Breeding, Training, Diseases, etc., etc. of Dogs*. . . (Philadelphia, 1845). In a rebuttal to hunters shooting any wild animal or bird, Skinner remarked: "This, too, at a season when every murdered bird leaves a helpless brood to perish with famine in the nest. Scarcely the swallow, or a sparrow, can escape, and in a little while, nothing will be left to animate the country." "The Country to the City," *AF* 1 (May 14, 1819): 52; also see Skinner's attack on a proposed "Buffalo Fight," *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, (June 6, 1821), p. 2, and his statement to take "special care always to keep clear of, and to reprobate gaming, cockfighting, and milling" in the *American Farmer*, 6 (November 12, 1824): 270.
 7. At \$4.00 per year and \$5.00 guaranteed receipt, the weekly *American Farmer* was a considerable expense for the average tiller of the land. During the first two years of publication, Skinner commented on "the very extensive circulation . . . among landed men, throughout the United States" and announced it "as an established *National Work*." *AF* 1 (September 17, 1819): 200 and 2 (April 21, 1820): 32. The bulk of the readership before 1825 was from an elite group of agricultural society members from Maryland and its border states, especially Virginia. In the initial year, Skinner claimed his patrons were "of all States in the Union, of all sects, and parties.—Gentlemen distinguished alike for their wealth, their practical knowledge and their public spirit." *AF* 1 (September 17, 1819): 199.
 8. Skinner advertised for a "stallion of good size, of the best English stock, and of high character, as to pedigree and performance" and in the next issue proclaimed that "the Editor of this paper is in treaty for a Horse of the best blood and figure—to be had in the Union." "A Blooded Horse," *AF* 2 (February 23, 1821): 384 and 2 (March 2, 1821): 387.
 9. See *AF* 2 (December 1, 1820): 288 and 3 (February 22, 1822): 384.
 10. The earliest advertisements for upcoming race meetings were for the "Easton Jockey Club Races" and the "Upper Marlboro Jockey Club Races." *AF* 1 (September 17, 1819): 200 and 1 (October 8, 1819): 224. The first extensive listing of upcoming racing events, which included five different courses, appeared in 1823. "Fall Races," *AF* 5 (October 3, 1823): 222. Others appeared quite frequently for the "Washington Jockey Club Races" and the "Maryland Association Races." *AF* 5 (October 17, 1823): 240; 6 (May 14, 1824): 64, and 6 (September 17, 1824): 205-206.
 11. Many of the horses listed at stud were secured by Skinner to service mares at a lower than usual price and were housed at his "Maryland Tavern" farm. Some of the horses listed were "Clifton," "Exile," "Tuckahoe," "Emperor," "Bellfounder," "Price Regent," "Young Oscar," and "Tom." See *AF* 2 (March 23, 1821): 416; 4 (April 12, 1822): 24; 5 (March 28, 1823): 8; 5 (May 9, 1823): 56; and, 6 (May 14, 1824): 64.
 12. The first report of race results appeared after the famous intersectional race between "Eclipse" from the North and "Henry" representing the South. "Trials of Speed," *AF* 5 (June 13, 1823): 96. However, this was a special event and Skinner did not really begin publishing race results on a regular basis until volume six. The more popular race courses submitting results were the: Lawrenceville Course in Virginia; Canton Course in Maryland; Petersburg Course in Virginia; Union Course in New York; Tree-Hill Course in Virginia; and, Richmond Course in Virginia. *AF* 6 (May 14, 1824): 62-63; 6 (May 21, 1824): 72; 6 (October 22, 1824): 247-248; 6 (November 19, 1824): 279; and 6 (December 3, 1824): 296.
 13. See for instance, "Performance of Postboy," *AF* 5 (October 3, 1823): 223, "The Celebrated Race Horse Eclipse," *AF* 5 (October 24, 1823): 242-243, and, "Pedigree and Performances of Col. Tayloe's celebrated running horses Virago, Calypso, Leviathan and Toppallant, (1795-1806)," *AF* 6 (May 21, 1824): 70.
 14. Skinner published an extensive list of fifty-nine horses owned by John Randolph between 1801 and 1823 under the title of "The Stud of a Gentleman in the South of Virginia," *AF* 6 (April 9, 1824): 20-21, and shortly after published a list of eighty-one horses which lived between 1786 and 1811 as "Part of the Stud Formerly Owned by Col. John Tayloe, of Mount Airy, (Va.)," *AF* 6

- (May 7, 1824): 50–52. These two lists became the forerunners of, and the stimulus for, Skinner's interests in the accurate recording of pedigrees which later blossomed into his Baltimore-based *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, 1829.
15. These were usually published along with the announcements for upcoming racing meetings.
16. Specifically, "Articles and Rules of the New York Association for the Improvement of the Breed of Horses," *AF*, 4:33 (November 8, 1822), pp. 259–260 and the "Rules and Regulations of the Maryland Association for the Improvement of the Breed of Horses," *AF* 5 (October 17, 1823): 238–239.
17. Previous to the founding of the *American Farmer*, American horsemen had only the London-based publications of the *Sporting Magazine* or *Monthly Calendar of the Transactions of the Turf, the Chace [sic] & C., Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, and the *Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette*.
18. *AF* 2 (October 20, 1820): 239.
19. *AF* 2 (February 9, 1821): 367.
20. It is believed that the location of Skinner's farm was along the Cumberland (National) Road, the turnpike begun in 1811 and completed in 1818. Supported by both Presidents Jefferson and Madison, the road extended from Cumberland, Maryland to Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia). *AF* 2 (March 16, 1821): 404.
21. John S. Skinner to Robert Oliver, n.d. [1821], Robert Oliver Papers, MS. 626, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.
22. *Ibid.* He had at least two thoroughbred horses on the premises, "Clifton" and "Young Tom," which he advertised in the *American Farmer*. Skinner's knowledge of horses was so widely accepted that he was chosen earlier in 1821 to represent the Agricultural Society of Albemarle County Virginia in the purchase of a Spanish stallion from Spain. See Thomas M. Randolph to Peter Minor, February 25, 1821, General Manuscript Collection, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia, and Lucretia Ramsey Bishko, "A Spanish Stallion for Albemarle," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 76 (April 1968): 146–180.
23. George F. Lemmer, "The Spread of Improved Cattle Through the Eastern United States to 1850," *Agricultural History* 21 (April 1947): 79–93.
24. Vivian D. Wiser, "The Movement for Agricultural Improvement in Maryland, 1785–1865" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1963), p. 105 and Rodney C. Loehr, "The Influence of English Agriculture on American Agriculture, 1775–1825," *Agricultural History* 11 (January 1937): 3–15.
25. *AF* 3 (August 31, 1821): 179, and 4 (April 26, 1822): 40.
26. *AF* 4 (January 10, 1823): 335.
27. *AF* 4 (January 31, 1823): 359.
28. *AF* 4 (February 28, 1823): 390–391.
29. *AF* 5 (September 26, 1823): 213–214.
30. "Maryland Cattle Show and Fair—No. 4—Report on Horses," *AF* 5 (November 21, 1823): 273.
31. *AF* 5 (October 3, 1823): 222.
32. John S. Skinner to Edward Lloyd, October 7, 1823, Lloyd Papers, MS. 2001, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.
33. "Amusements of the Turf," *AF* 4 (June 14, 1822): 98–99.
34. "Sports of the Turf," *AF* 5 (May 9, 1823): 53–54.
35. "Trials of Speed," *AF* 5 (June 13, 1823): 96.
36. "Speed of horses," *AF* 5 (June 20, 1823): 103.
37. See for instance, *AF* 5 (July 11, 1823): 127–128, and 6 (July 16, 1824): 136.
38. *AF* 6 (May 14, 1824): 62–63.
39. *AF* 6 (May 28, 1824): 79.
40. *AF* 6 (November 12, 1824): 270–271.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *AF* 6 (September 17, 1824): 205–206.
43. *AF* 6 (November 12, 1824): 270–271.
44. *AF* 6 (November 19, 1824): 279.
45. *AF* 6 (January 21, 1825): 349–350.
46. Randolph wrote under the pseudonym of "Philip." *AF* 7 (March 3, 1826): 399–400.
47. John Randolph to John S. Skinner, April [], 1826, General Manuscript Collection, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.
48. Harrison, *Background of the American . . .*, pp. 19–28.
49. *AF* 7 (April 1, 1825): 15.
50. "The Maryland Association for the Improvement of the Breed of Horses," *AF* 7 (April 29, 1825): 47.

51. *AF* 7 (May 20, 1825): 67.
52. "Thorough Bred Horses," *AF* 7 (November 11, 1825): 270.
53. *AF* 8 (May 12, 1826): 63.
54. Skinner was able to acquire the best stallions in America at the time, mainly because of his close friendship with the major owners and breeders. Most notable were "Rinaldo," *AF* 8 (June 16, 1826): 104, "American Eclipse," *AF* 8 (November 3, 1826): 264, and "John Hancock," *AF* 10 (June 13, 1828): 104.
55. "A Good Goer," *AF* 8 (May 12, 1826): 64.
56. "The Late Cattle Show—Remarks upon by the Editor, continued," *AF* 8 (June 23, 1826): 112 and "The Next Cattle Show," *AF* 9 (April 27, 1827): 41.
57. *AF* 8 (June 23, 1826): 110–111. In another article entitled "American Eclipse—Sold for \$8050!!" Skinner noted: "By and bye, and for years to come, we in Maryland, will no doubt be paying annually very large sums of money for fine horses from New York. . . . The cause of this annual tax, as we have repeatedly stated, is the want of enterprise, on the part of the farmers of each county, to associate and throw in, each \$30, for the purchase of a bred horse of the best bone, figure and action." *AF* 9 (October 19, 1827): 248.
58. "Rinaldo," *AF* 9 (April 6, 1827): 24.
59. Skinner was elected at a meeting held on September 3rd, and stated the purposes of the Association: "To improve the breed of our horses, by keeping up the pure stock of the bred horse in his highest spirit and greatest vigour, knowing that unless we do preserve that blood for farmers to have recourse to, we can never have the benefit of saddle and harness horses of the best bottom and the finest action." "New Maryland Association, For the Improvement of the Breed of Horses," *AF* 10 (September 19, 1828): 213.
60. *AF* 10 (July 25, 1828): 151.
61. "Blood Horses in the West," *AF* 10 (February 27, 1829): 399.
62. *AF* 12 (June 25, 1830): 117–118.
63. The earliest known proposal for an "American Stud Book" came from John Bioren, a Philadelphia bookseller, on October 9, 1815, which appeared in the *National Intelligencer*. Other men, specifically Charles Henry Hall and Cadwallader R. Colden of New York and J. J. Harrison and Theophilus Field of Virginia, began collecting pedigrees for a "Stud Book" in 1822. Field did most of the work until his death in 1826, at which time Harrison solicited the assistance of Patrick Nesbit Edgar. In the mean time, George W. Jeffreys of North Carolina, published his "Annals of the Turf" in the *Petersburg [Virginia] Intelligencer*. This series of pedigrees was then published by Skinner in his *American Farmer* and was also added as an Appendix to the 1828 and 1830 editions of Richard Mason's *Gentleman's New Pocket Farrier* . . . under the sub-title of the *Virginia Stud Book*. For further detailed information, see Harrison, *Background of* . . . , pp. 20–41.
64. "American Stud Book," *AF* 7 (December 23, 1825): 320.
65. "Stud Book," *AF* 7 (March 3, 1826): 399. The letter to Skinner was written by John Randolph of Roanoke, Virginia, who also set out to collect information for a "Stud Book." He eventually realized he could not complete the task and it is believed Edgar was able to acquire most of Randolph's data. Harrison, *Background of* . . . , pp. 38–41.
66. Sent to Skinner by "Phillip," who was John Randolph.
67. This was the series of pedigrees collected by George W. Jeffreys, who wrote under the pseudonym of "An Advocate For The Turf" or "An Advocate For The Blood Horse."
68. *AF* 8 (June 6, 1826): 102. The second installment of the series did not appear until number 15, but then the remainder of the series followed in consecutive numbers through number 23 (August 25, 1826), pp. 183–184.
69. Thomas M. Forman, a long time friend of Skinner, writing under the pseudonym of "F," explained: "I have experienced frequent disappointment, when upon the receipt of your interesting paper, it contained no information on the various bred horses which stand for the season. . . . Now, sir, I will venture to engage you, that a short notice like the above, will be inserted by you once in your paper, if postage is paid. . . . I think no sportsmen would object to paying you one dollar for one insertion of their horses' pedigree." "Blooded Horses," *AF* 9 (April 20, 1827): 39.
70. In a subsequent number, Skinner replied that Forman "has judged us rightly in saying, that we will willingly publish such *brief* notices *gratis*; and where the party wishes to run up the pedigree through five or six generations, will insert if for one dollar—but we will in no case advertise gratuitously, any but a *bred* horse." "Stallions," *AF* 9 (May 18, 1827): 70–71.
71. *AF* 9 (June 8, 1827): 95–96.
72. "Pedigrees of Blooded Horses," *AF* 9 (July 20, 1827): 143.
73. Patrick Nesbit Edgar, writing under the pseudonym of "Mellish," wrote to Skinner requesting his

- help in finding or completing the pedigrees of several horses. "Godolphin Arabian," *AF* 9 (August 17, 1827): 175.
74. "Blooded Horses," *AF* 9 (August 31, 1827): 190.
75. *AF* 9 (August 31, 1827): 192.
76. The series ran from 9 (September 14, 1827) to 9 (December 21, 1827) in consecutive numbers, except for 31, 34, 36, and 38, which were skipped.
77. *AF* 9 (March 14, 1828): 416.
78. Supplied by Jeffreys, the series began 10 (May 9, 1828): 62-63 and appeared later in numbers 9, 10, 11, 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23, ending (August 22, 1828): 182-183.
79. One reader from Philadelphia wrote that: "You at one time gave assurance that the public would be gratified by the publication of an American stud book and racing calendar. To what cause is the failure to be attributed?" "Thorough-Blooded Horses," *AF* 10 (June 13, 1828): 102.
80. The series began with 11 (April 10, 1829): 29-30 and ended with 11 (May 1, 1829): 53-54.
81. Although the *American Turf Register* and Skinner's role as founder and editor is another story, it was clear from his prospectus that the desire for a "Stud Book" was the major inducement for inauguration. Skinner remarked that: "The want of a repository in this country, like the English Sporting Magazine, to serve as an authentic record of the performances and pedigrees of the *bred* horse, will be admitted by all, whether breeders, owners, or amateurs of that admirable animal. The longer we remain without a register, the more difficult will it be to trace the pedigrees of existing stock, and the more precarious will its value become. Is it not, in fact, within the knowledge of many readers, that animals known to have descended from ancestry of the highest and purest blood, have been confounded with the vulgar mass of their species, by the loss of an old newspaper or memorandum book, that contained their pedigrees? Sensible for years past of the danger which in this way threatens property of so much value, and persuaded that it is not yet too late to collect and save many precious materials that would soon be otherwise lost, the subscriber hopes to supply the long looked for *desideratum*, by the establishment of "The American Turf Register." *AF* 11 (August 28, 1829): 190. It should be noted that a stud book did not appear until 1833, when Edgar finally published his data under the title of *The American Race-Turf Register, Sportsman's Herald, and General Stud Book*. . . . However, Skinner and others were not satisfied with the publication. Therefore in 1834, Skinner published an American edition of the English *General Stud Book*. Harrison, *Background of* . . . , pp. 28 and 41.
82. *AF* 10 (July 18, 1828): 143.
83. *AF* 10 (February 6, 1829): 375.
84. "American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine," *AF* 11 (August 28, 1829): 190-191.
85. *AF* 11 (September 18, 1829): 214-215.
86. "The American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine," *AF* 11 (October 2, 1829): 230-231.
87. *AF* 11 (October 30, 1829): 262.
88. Skinner included articles from the *Turf Register* in the *American Farmer* dealing with diseases in horses and dogs. For example: "Strangles in Horses," *AF* 12 (April 30, 1830): 53 and "Care for the Mange, or Itch, in Dogs," *AF* 12 (May 7, 1830): 61.
89. "Change of Proprietors," *AF* 12 (September 3, 1830): 198-199. It should be noted that Skinner continued editing and publishing the *Turf Register* from his Baltimore office until 1835. Later, in 1839, William T. Porter, editor of the *Spirit of the Times*, purchased the magazine and moved it to New York City.

Some Newly Discovered John Stuart Skinner Correspondence

CHARLES W. TURNER

JOHNS STUART SKINNER, A LEADING AGRICULTURAL REFORMER AND PUBLICIST of his day was born February 22, 1788, in Calvert Co. Maryland. After attending Charlotte Hall Academy, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in Annapolis at twenty-one years of age.

After the war of 1812, President Madison appointed him inspector of European mail at Annapolis and soon designated him as agent for prisoners of war. In 1814, he moved to Baltimore where he was appointed a purser in the Navy. Upon visiting the fleet of Admiral Cockburn, both Skinner and Francis S. Key stayed on board during the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Later released, both men went to the "Fountain Inn" where Key penned the "Star Spangled Banner". Skinner was so impressed with the music that he took the manuscript to have it printed. From 1816-1837 he served as postmaster of Baltimore and in 1841 President Harrison appointed him third assistant Postmaster General. President Polk removed him from office for political reasons.

As early as 1819, he began urging soil reform measures for Maryland, much as John Taylor had been doing in Virginia. He established *The American Farmer* in that year, which became the first continuous, successful agricultural periodical in the United States. This paper became the principal organ of expression for all those who were concerned with agricultural improvement. In various issues one finds letters and articles of John Taylor, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Timothy Pickering, James Garnett, Richard Peters, John Hartwell Cocke and many others, also some agricultural leaders from abroad. The topics included field crop cultivation, soil fertilization, agricultural societies, fairs, prices, internal improvements and other related topics. In August, 1829, he also began publishing the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, which emphasized the improvement of American horses, veterinary knowledge, racing, shooting, hunting, fishing and other subjects. Finding that the second magazine took too much of his time, he sold the *American Farmer* for \$20,000 in 1830. After he sold the second publication in 1835, he was hired to edit the *Farmer's Library and Monthly Journal of Agriculture* published in New York. Later, he bought it and published it in Philadelphia under the title *The Plough, The Loom and The Anvil*. He continued to publish it until his death in 1851.

During the 20s he operated a model stock farm outside of Baltimore where he bred fine horses, mules, cattle and sheep and played a leading role in the

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Maryland Agricultural Society. When General Lafayette visited the United States in 1824, he attended a meeting of the Maryland Agricultural Society and met Skinner. The two became friends and Skinner acted as his business agent in this country.

Over the course of his life he became an honorary member of nearly every agricultural organization here and abroad. Several awarded him medals for his service to agriculture. Because of his extensive acquaintance with naval personnel he was able to import useful plants, livestock and valuable agricultural books from all over the world. It is reported that he imported some of the first Peruvian fertilizer into Baltimore in 1824. In addition, Skinner authored *The Dog and the Sportsman* in 1845, and several pamphlets on agricultural subjects. He contributed articles on agricultural subjects to such newspapers as the New York *Albion* and the *Philadelphia Courier*, and he helped others publish material on similar subjects. Yet all of his activities as an agricultural publicist for over twenty-five years was done outside of his working hours as a public official. Skinner died at the height of his career, from an accidental fall in the post office in Baltimore, March 21, 1851.¹

Skinner's very large correspondence with those interested in agricultural improvement is valuable. It shows who was concerned and what some of their projects were. Some of these letters were recently located in the Tayloe Papers.²

The first mentioned was a lady naturalist, Mary Griffith, of New Brunswick, New Jersey, who wrote three letters in 1824.

Charlieshosse, New Brunswick
June 4, 1824

Dear Sir:

I have received the melon seed that you were kind enough to send me. I have planted them with great care and I hope you will be here when they are ripe. I have enclosed a letter to your correspondent "on the subject of the worm in Peach Trees,". I became impatient for the additional information that he promised respecting pear trees, and I have written to him.

You do not say whether I must send the amount of my last and this years subscription by mail, to you, or pay it to Cary and Lea at whose store I subscribed. Any way will suit me. A number of persons here want to join in purchasing a ticket in your Baltimore lottery. Will you tell me how much they are at present. If they are not more than twenty dollars I am commissioned to purchase one for them. I will transmit the money to you and then you will be good enough to send me the ticket.³ I can tell you, too, that it is true that soft soap is made by merely uniting the lie and fat together without boiling. In fact, it is decidedly the better way and it would be in general use, but that more time is consumed in making it.⁴

Yours Very Respectfully,
Mary Griffith

Charlieshosse, April 2, 1824

Dear Sir,

You see that there is no fear of your losing your new correspondent for I am again at your elbow. This is the season with us for grafting and for sowing. I want you, therefore,

to remember me when either seeds or grafts are to be had for the asking. Mr. Matthew Cary of Philadelphia sent me a quantity of French seed June last.⁵ It was too late then to sow them but I have put them in a warm border, and in the hotbed and a number are coming up very well notwithstanding they must be upwards of two years old. About three years ago I crossed the Eastern Shore pea with the Smyrna and produced a larger kind than the Eastern Shore. Last spring a year I crossed it with a thrifty early pea, the name of which I do not know. This produced a firm early pea eight days earlier than I ever saw. I should like to send you some. The pods are uncommonly full and the pea is much larger than the early Charleston.

I have used the mouldboard or, as we call it, the scraper, for three years. I like it for levelling hills and hillocks, but for any other operation such as reducing headlands etc., I prefer a cart. A scraper requires two horses and a stout man, sometimes two and then you either by accident or carelessness, get a light load every other time. I have a great deal of rough work to do on my farm and I never found the scraper useful excepting on roads. I used it in making a firm turnpike lane through my farm, but I was very tired of it. A cart is a most useful article on the farm. I have just purchased another and had swivel trees attached to it. A horse draws with greater care with swivel trees than without. As soon as I get through with the mess of my spring work, I will send you a diagram of my new hive, with explanation. I have no objection to your making use of it provided my name not be brought before the public. I have no relish to see my name in print. As to Malaria—our doctors do not yet salt their porridge. We have neither endemics nor epidemics and as to dispepsia that scourge of America, if you come hitherwards perhaps we may throw out a few solitary hints that may be of service.⁶

Yours Very Respectfully,
M. Griffith

P. S. As this is the right time with us for grafting I wish you would send me a few grafts of any new rare plum that is going the rounds. I have the Washington Bolmar plum and the Gwalsh two of the largest known in our part of the country. You might send me a few by mail, or some good natured friend may be coming this way.

You must not forget to bring Mrs. Skinner with you when you come this way. M.G.

Charlieshosse, June 18, 1824

Dear Sir,

Enclosed are twenty dollars. Please to send me by return mail the ticket that I wrote about some time since of course the vender of the ticket will warrant it indrawn.⁷

Mr. Evan Thomas is a great acquisition to your paper. He very good naturedly answered a number of questions and what pleased me quite as much, was the excellent English in which his letter was written. I hope he will honor me with a visit this summer.

You say I had better write some preliminary observations for the diagram of my hive. A very few words will suffice perhaps they will come better from you. And this is not to have my name made public. I have an aversion to such things.

I was called from my letter by the cry of "swarming", I ran out and saw the largest swarm of bees that I have ever seen swarming in the air which was literally black with them. To my great astonishment they alighted on an inhabited hive and ran in great numbers. I had the grated door closed of the hive, in consequence of which, the outside was one mess of bees. I placed an empty hive on a form under it and with a wing brushed them into the empty hive, luckily they had no objections and as they rushed in very fast at the entrance. Having closed the top I opened the grated door of the upper hive and liberated those who had gone in at first and, they, too dropped down and entered the new

hive. I have never heard of so curious circumstances before. Will you tell me how much I owe you. I want to pay you.

Yours Very Respectfully,
M. Griffith⁸

Congressmen were writing for his journals and asking questions of him as Benjamin Ruggles, a United States Senator from Ohio wrote that:

Washington, March 20, 1820

John S. Skinner, Esq.
Sir,

I have taken the *American Farmer*, edited by yourself, since the commencement of the present session of Congress, and am very much pleased with the paper. I intend to become a permanent subscriber. I wish to obtain all the papers from the commencement of the establishment of the 31st of December last. From that time to the present I have the numbers complete. Be pleased to inform me, whether I can obtain a complete file to the time I commenced taking them.

Yours Very Respectfully,
B. Ruggles⁹

A second congressman serving on the Agricultural Committee in the House of Representatives, Francis Baylies of Massachusetts, stated that:

Washington, December 7, 1822

Sir,
Yours dated November 29 franked December 6 I have received.¹⁰ I regret Sir that my limited knowledge in the science of agriculture will prevent me from aiding your paper in one of the modes which you have suggested. I am not a practical farmer, and I have never (I am sorry to say it) cultivated the earth. I presume that from finding my name on the Agricultural Committee of Congress, you were induced to address me. My appointment to that committee was a work of chance. Nevertheless as I have been educated amongst farmers and I have watched their labors, and their experiments with much interest, and as I consider the object of your paper to be one of the first importance, and that the cause of agriculture may be partially benefitted by its circulation I wish you to consider me as a subscriber from the date of this. If you will send me a prospectus I will forward it to my district and give my aid (such as it is) to the diffusion of your valuable work. On my return I shall probably purchase your volumes which have been already published, and I will then pay my subscription.

I am with much Respect
Your humble servant,
Francis Baylies¹¹

Governors were in correspondence with Skinner and Governor Thomas K. Carroll of Maryland wrote:

February 17, 1822

Dear Sir,

In looking over your paper of the first instant I find a notification of stock to be sold. You mention the price of the pigs but not of the Teeswater bull or the prize heifer. Will you do me the favor to name the price of the bull and heifer?

I am very desirous for the introduction of a new breed of cattle in our county and I know of none I should prefer to those you have presented for sale. You may rest assured we need great improvement in everything that relates to agriculture.

Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant,
Thomas K. Carroll¹²

Andrew Pickens whose father was governor of South Carolina addressed him thus:

Near Selma, May 25, 1822

John S. Skinner, Esq.

Sir,

Enclosed you will receive four dollars for the fourth volume of the *American Farmer* for myself. I have also the pleasure of enclosing \$4.00 for the fourth volume for a new patron to that work, viz., Gilbert Shearer Esq. of Selma. You will be so good as to enclose receipts for the same to me.

Some how or other, in my removal to this country, I have mislaid or lost my first volume bound, by a private conveyance, I would transmit the price with great pleasure. I have never received the twentieth number of third volume.

Accept my best wishes for your future usefulness and my thanks for some of the lupine which you were so good to enclose me.

Your Obedient Servant,
Andrew Pickens

P.S. I believe the lupine is only used as a winter green crop, to be ploughed in the spring, for the restoration of the land. This country is yet too new, to expect them to be used in it, for that purpose. There is much land, in this country which will probably not need any such thing to fertilize it, for a century at any rate, we find it much more profitable, at present to kill and cripple than to resuscitate. I will however plant the lupine as a vegetable curiosity.

Very Respectfully,
A. P.¹³

Edward Lloyd served as Maryland governor and in congress and was very concerned over agriculture as:¹⁴

Wye House, April 8, 1823

My Dear Sir,

Enclosed yours as requested.¹⁵ The piece received from you a few days since my return home. I have not been able to collect any thing material on the presidential question.¹⁶ I am disposed however to think there is here as elsewhere in our state a good deal of diversity on it. But that the great body of Republicans will support a nomination, this in my opinion is the strong ground to rest the question on. If it will not succeed some other

will. I have heard nothing from Colonel Smith since my return and presume he had abandoned his plans in Baltimore.¹⁷

Our crops look well but the season is backward and too wet for our low grounds. What do you mean to do with the agricultural society this spring. I trust the presidential question will not paralyze its proceedings. When will it take place (the fair) and will there be a premium for milkers. I have four good ones.¹⁸

I found "Champion" (the bull) and the heifers in fine order on my return. They were and still are too fat. I assure you "Shepherdess" (one of the cows) reduces but slowly although I feed her alone on corn husks and "Champion" is still too fat although I have reduced his feed to a half gallon of meal a day. Their fattening qualities far exceed my expectations and are almost incredible. The young bull "Cornstalk" purchased from Powell is poor on double the food and by no means mousy.¹⁹ "Pilgrim" alias Skinner, the calf of "White Rose" has fine points and is improving rapidly.²⁰ He is not as large as I expected. But he fell at an unfavorable season and being a first calf may account for it. They are however all so fine and so much improved. I wish you and Powell could see them. Write Powell that he as an amateur might ride from Philadelphia to see them and although I do admit, on full inspection since my return home that "Champion" is a little too fat in the chops. Still there is nothing probably to compare with him even much less to compete. How much more congenial to my feelings is it, to scan the points of a fine bull than a great politician. One is honest at least to view; you can see him.

In Haste your Friend,
Edward Lloyd

Skinner exchanged information and books with foremost economists and publishers of the day as this letter of Matthew Carey tells:²¹

Philadelphia, July 30, 1834

John S. Skinner Esq.
My Dear Sir,

When you were about commencing your sporting magazine, I mentioned that I had four volumes of the English work, bearing that title, which I intended for you. Procrastination has put off the performance of my intention till the present time. I have had the four volumes tied up 1809, 1815, 1816 addressed to you and put at Carey and Hart²² to be forwarded to you at the first opportunity. Requesting the acceptance of them, I remain.

Yours Very Respectfully,
Matthew Carey

Outstanding state farmers wrote him as two Virginians quoted below:

"Millbrook", August 21, 1822

Dear Sir,

I remitted you on the 20th of April last five dollars requesting you to pay yourself and send me the remainder in turnip seed. The letter was answered by Mr. Redding your agent who enclosed me the seed together with a receipt.²³ This circumstance I suppose from your late letter you are not aware of. I should have answered sooner but for my ill health.

Yours With Great Respect,
T. W. Eppes²⁴

Orange, June 1, 1822

Dear Sir,

I have failed in several trials to get good ruta бага seed. I will be much obliged to you as I am sure you are well acquainted with it, if you will be good enough to send me two ounces of the genuine seed and also two ounces of fresh sea kale seed in parcels not exceeding an ounce. I should have sent the money but had no note small enough. I will pay through a member (of the society) next winter. Your attention to this will confer a favor upon.

Sir Your Obedient Servant,
Philip P. Barbour²⁵

From South Carolina where the Middleton name has always been foremost in agriculture the letter came:

Charleston, November 15, 1823

Dear Sir,

I send by the schooner "Harvest" (of) Captain Emery a paper parcel containing Guinea grape seed which I hope you will receive in due course. I wrote you a few days since by mail.

I remain With Great Regards
Your Obedient Servant,
J. Middleton²⁶

From Maryland a Dr. Joseph Kent wrote:

Rose Mount, 11 June, 1823

Dear Sir,

Enclosed you will receive four dollars, the amount of my subscription to the *American Farmer* for the present year, the receipt of which you will please to acknowledge. In March I wrote you that I had lost two numbers of last year and requested the favour of you to let me have them if entirely convenient, but not hearing from you concluded you could not part with them without arranging a volume which I by no means ask you to do as it is not my material. We are suffering this early from a small drought, accompanied by unusual cool weather, which gives the face of the county the worst appearance I have ever witnessed and makes the prospect of the agriculture truly gloomy.

I thank you for the fine sample of tobacco you sent me, it is better than we can raise on our highly manured lands. Though the crop was much better than usual, more especially in the lower part of the county where they never wait for rain to mature it early.

Very Respectfully Yours and
Obedient Servant,
Jos. Kent²⁷

N. H. Carter corresponding secretary of the New York Horticultural Society wrote:

New York, 9 May, 1824

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 6th, together with the *American Farmer* and package of seeds, arrived yesterday, for all which accept my thanks. The seeds will be presented to the Horticultural

Society on Tuesday evening. You may look out for a notice about the *American Farmer* early this week. It will afford me pleasure to do everything in my power to extend the circulation of so useful a paper.

When I left Washington I promised to send the ladies some new songs. My promise has been fulfilled by the purchase of a dozen songs, such as are sung here, but all of which do not suit my taste. As Mrs. Gales and Mrs. Lee are soon to be in Baltimore I take the liberty to forward to you in separate parcels, and on different days, requesting you to commit it to the care of Mrs. Skinner, until the ladies from Washington may arrive. It would afford me great pleasure to hear her play some of the songs on her fine piano, but the gratification must be postponed to some future day.

As this may chance to be the fortieth letter you will receive in the same morning, I will only add that I shall be happy to hear from you, when your other avocations will permit, and that I am very sincerely your friend.

N. H. Carter²⁸

From way out in Illinois, M. Birbeck, a recent arrival from England wrote:

Wanborough, May 19, 1824
Illinois

Sir,

Below is an order on Mr. Warden's of Philadelphia for two years past and the current year of the *American Farmer* value \$15.00. There are a number of deficiencies in my former volume, if you consider me entitled to have them made up, I will thank you for a line to that effect. The difficulty of remitting has occasioned my being so much in arrears as the present convenient mode did not before occur to me.

I Am Sir Your Obedient Servant,
M. Birbeck²⁹

Skinner must have asked for help in his work at times for a letter from Boston speaks of his efforts to get another agricultural editor to help him:

Boston, November 4, 1824

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 11th of October was duly received and should have been sooner answered, had not some extraordinary avocations left me but little time to deliberate, and determine what reply to make to your proposals. I have a great respect for Mr. Skinner although I have not the honor of being personally acquainted with him, and I should be happy to render any assistance in my power in the way proposed, when I had the pleasure of an interview with you to the great and important objects of his establishment. But circumstances have since occurred and I have entered into such subsequent engagements that it is not now in my power, consistent with my present obligations, to propose any arrangements, which would render it necessary to relinquish my employment as editor of the *New England Farmer*.

With Respect Your Obedient Servant,
Thomas Y. Fessenden³⁰

Indicating Skinner's political interests he had relations with South American revolutionist and one Antonio da Cruz of Pernambuco, Brazil wrote him while in Philadelphia that:

Philadelphia, June 17, 1821

Dear Sir,

You have in your possession the religious and political catechism answer to the royal catechism of Ferdinand VII, written by Doctor Rosio. This manuscript I sent to you that you might have it published in the *Maryland Critic*, but as it has not been published I wish you to return to me by the first opportunity as I shall now either have it printed or inserted as extracts that the character of a republican and virtues of that constant friend may be (if possible) better known. By this opportunity I send you another manuscript of the same person, relative to the history of Venezuela, which you will be good enough to return.

I Am Your Obedient Servant,
Antonio E. da Cruz³¹

A single letter of a later period shows Skinner's reputation:

Ellwood Cottage
West Whiteland
Chester Co., March 25, 1842

My Dear Sir,

Devoting so much of your time to agriculture, you of course know all about it. My farm contains only 25 acres, too small for stock (nearly all of which I have out on shares, and will have a good yield of lambs and pigs this year). Will you tell me the best means of producing tobacco, how to sow the seed, and the best kind, how to prepare the ground, set out the plants and when, how to treat, dry and put it up for market, the quantity per acre, and probable price. I have seed in my hotbed. If managed and manured my land is equal to any Mississippi bottom (land) and I can put in about four acres in this way. An early answer if you please. If you have anything more of the exploring expedition I will feel obliged for it.

Very truly yours,
E. D. Elliott³²

These letters and countless others speak of the varied interests of Skinner's correspondents. His publications served a wide group of patrons far and near, and inform us how seeds were sent, improved stock sold and scientific knowledge was spread. Skinner's avocation was profitable not only to himself but to agriculturalists in general. He was indeed an American Arthur Young of his day.

REFERENCES

1. Material on John S. Skinner was taken from the *Dictionary of American Biography* 17: 199-201; *Baltimore Patriot* May 23, 1849, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 76: 1968, 170-175.
2. The Tayloe papers have been catalogued by the author and are in the possession of Mr. William P. C. Perry, Charles Town, West Virginia.
3. Lottery Tickets were commonly sold then.
4. No doubt commenting on one of Skinner's articles on soap making.
5. She left out the "e" in Carey's name, leading Philadelphia economist.
6. Skinner's work often carried possible cures for illnesses. He suffered from dyspepsia for a number of years, may have been a stomach ulcer.
7. This ticket was the lottery ticket mentioned earlier.
8. Mary Griffith of New Brunswick, N. Y. was an outstanding florist and woman naturalist, who appeared to fight publicity. This information was taken from the back of the letters preserved. *American Farmer* VI, July 2, 1824, 114-115, Skinner provided woodcuts for the hive description. The hive was exhibited at Pennsylvania Agricultural Society Exhibition in 1824. In *American*

- Farmer* VI, July 23, 1824, 137-138, a trip is described of Skinner and wife with friends to the Brooklyn Navy Yard, Saratoga, Philadelphia and Barderstown, they may have stopped to see Mrs. Griffith during that period.
9. Benjamin Ruggles lived in Washington, D. C. and, according to the legend on the outside of the letter, was a United States Senator of Ohio.
 10. Skinner's mail could be franked for he was Postmaster of Baltimore from 1816 to 1822.
 11. Francis Baylies was not only a congressman of Massachusetts but a minister to Argentina, *Dictionary of American Biography* 2: 75.
 12. Thomas K. Carroll, one time governor of Maryland, according to legend on the letter itself; *American Farmer*, III, February 1, 1822, 360.
 13. Andrew Pickens, son of a Revolutionary hero by the same name and important family of South Carolina had moved to Alabama, *Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, 1182.
 14. Edward Lloyd was at one time governor of Maryland and in the Congress of the U. S. He was related to the Tayloe family and ran an estate called Wye House, *American Farmer*, V, May 30, 1823, 74.
 15. He had sent money for his subscription to the *American Farmer*.
 16. He was speaking of the coming 1824 National election. The spirit of the "Era of Good Feeling" was given away to that of Ill Feeling by 1823.
 17. The Smith family of Baltimore was prominent in politics, Robert Smith had been Secretary of State under James Madison.
 18. Skinner was to have been the importer of the first short horn cattle to the U. S. to improve our native stock. Another first for Skinner was his securing of the first Peruvian fertilizer for use in the states. "Shepherdess" and "Champion" Skinner imported and sold to Governor Lloyd, *Farmer's Library* III November, 1847, 220-221; *Plough, Anvil and The Loom*, III, December, 1850.
 19. Powell was no doubt an importer of good stock of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania area. He was corresponding secretary of the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society in 1825, *American Farmer*, VI, February 18, 1825, 379-380; 386-387.
 20. "Pilgrim" refers to one of the calves of the cows the breed of which Skinner had helped improve. "Pilgrim" was sold to Powell and renamed "Wye Comet," *American Farmer*, January 16, 1824, 307.
 21. Matthew Carey was one of the well known publishers of Philadelphia and was a supporter of the American system of Henry Clay.
 22. Carey and Hart was the name of the publishing firm at one time.
 23. W. T. Redding was called Skinner's agent and helped him in publishing his agricultural journals. He went on tours to see the *American Farmer*, *American Farmer*, V, May 9, 1823, 54.
 24. Thomas W. Eppes of "Millbrook" farm located at Rained Tavern was the son-in-law of Thomas Jefferson.
 25. Philip P. Barbour was one of the outstanding Virginian families by that name of Orange County, Virginia, which furnished a governor, congressman, and a secretary of war at different times.
 26. J. Middleton was a member of the family whose name is connected with the famous Middleton gardens even today.
 27. Joseph Kent was a medical doctor of Bladensburg, Maryland according to the legend on the letter and governor of Maryland elected in 1825.
 28. N. H. Carter of New York according to the note on the letter was "a gentleman of most amiable qualities and refined taste as a scholar and writer". This letter certainly speaks of his catholicity of interests.
 29. M. Birbeck was an English agriculturist and writer on political economy of some distinction who had moved to Illinois not long before, according to the legend on the note sent to Skinner.
 30. Thomas Y. Fessenden of Boston was a literary character of that day according to the note on the letter and the letter was actually addressed to W. T. Redding, Skinner's agent.
 31. Antonio Cruz was a liberal visiting from Latin America and had desired Skinner to help publicize the revolutionary cause. The note on the letter said he had come to Philadelphia from Pernambuco, Brazil. Cognomen by which was known Antonio Goncalves da Cruz, one of the leaders of the republican Revolution which broke out in Pernambuco on June 3, 1817. He was sent to the United States by the provisional government which the revolution established, with the mission of obtaining arms and recognition of the republic in foreign parts. He did not succeed, since the North American government refused to receive him; the arms which he obtained as a private citizen and sent back with three French officers arrived at Pernambuco too late, when the movement had already been put down. *Encyclopedia Brasileira Merito* (Sao Paulo, 1959) 4: 144. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 69 (1925): 1-43.
 32. E. D. Elliott seems to have been an important farmer of Chester County, Pa. The expedition possibly was Lieutenant Charles Wilkes of 1838.

Governor Austin Lane Crothers and Progressive Reform in Maryland 1908-1912

NICHOLAS C. BURCKEL

HISTORIANS HAVE SHOWN THAT PROGRESSIVE REFORM CAME GRADUALLY TO the Old Line state, appearing first in Baltimore, then expanding to the state; beginning first with the minority Republican party, then capturing a significant portion of the Democratic party. It achieved its greatest statewide success when the majority party, under the prod of a governor willing to use his constitutional power and political influence, enacted legislation which had been debated but not passed during the preceeding decade. Austin Lane Crothers more than any other governor succeeded in achieving the progressive reforms for which individuals and groups had unsuccessfully agitated in the past. Between his election to the governorship in 1907 and his last biennial message to the legislature in 1912, the state adopted a flood of important progressive measures including a corrupt practices act, a primary election bill, a public utilities law, a pure food law, an anti-prostitution law, an eight hour work day for labor, a compulsory education law, and endorsement of the income tax amendment. This record is even more impressive when seen against the backdrop of volatile state politics and the racial issue which dominated the political scene during the years prior to his election.¹

Although Democrats had controlled Maryland politics since the Civil War, Republicans succeeded in capturing the governorship and, for a single term, both houses of the legislature, in the late nineteenth century. This brief Republican success resulted from intra-party squabbling within the majority party and the momentary unpopularity of the state's leading Democratic power—United States Senator Arthur Pue Gorman. By raising the specter of growing black influence in the Republican party, however, Democrats regained control of the state in 1899. The first item of business for the new governor—John Walter Smith—was the elimination of the black vote. The effort began with a recount of federal census returns from heavily black southern Maryland, which resulted in a significant reduction in the number of blacks officially canvassed. Future Democratic efforts escalated to outright black disfranchisement in an attempt to reduce Republicans to permanent minority party status. Only when the racial issue was largely laid to rest and the party's two political bosses, Gorman and Baltimore machine chief Isaac Freeman Rasin, had died were Democrats able in 1908 to turn their attention to progressive issues.²

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The man who was to establish the most progressive record of any Democratic administration of the period was a relative political unknown whose party regularity, judicial temperament, and availability made him a gubernatorial candidate on whom various factions of the party could agree. At forty-seven, Austin Lane Crothers struck an impressive pose: a six foot tall bachelor, strongly built, with a square face, soft eyes and dark mustache. His physique reflected the influence of his rural life. Born in 1860 on a small farm in Cecil county in the northeastern tip of the state, Crothers worked the family farm and attended the local public school. He later attended West Nottingham Academy and became a teacher at one of the country schools. While teaching, he studied law, and in 1890 he graduated from the law school of the University of Maryland. Following his admission to the state bar he established a practice in Elkton, the county seat of Cecil. At the same time he became more involved in local Democratic politics and at thirty-one won election as state's attorney for the county. From 1891 to 1895 he served in that position and campaigned for his older brother, Charles C. Crothers, who sought the state Senate seat from that same area. Charles Crothers won the seat, but died suddenly and in 1897 Austin won election to his brother's unexpired term. His election came at the same time that Republicans were gaining their brief control of the state legislature and after they had already captured the state house with Lloyd Lowndes' election.³

During most of his three years in the Senate, Crothers served as a respected member of the minority party, and when Democrats regained control of the upper house he became chairman of the Finance Committee. Cecil County Democrats quarreled among themselves, however, some challenging Crothers' leadership. Although Crothers succeeded in securing renomination in 1901 and again in 1905, enough nominal Democrats deserted him at the general elections that he lost to his Republican opponents. Crothers' loss in 1905 to Joseph I. France could in part be accounted for by the vote on the Poe amendment. The controversial Poe Amendment, named after its author, John Prentiss Poe, former attorney general and dean of the University of Maryland Law School, was a blatant Democratic attempt to disfranchise blacks. Even Democrats who favored restricting the black vote, such as then Governor Edwin Warfield, divided on the issue. Some agreed with Warfield that it would be struck down by the courts, leaving no defense at all against Republican control of the black vote. In a county with a nominal Democratic majority of approximately 400 voters, Crothers lost by 355 votes, but the Poe amendment lost by nearly a hundred more votes.⁴

Crothers remained active in politics, however, while establishing himself as an attorney. Then in 1906 Governor Warfield unexpectedly appointed Crothers to fill the unexpired term of the late Judge Edwin H. Brown. His term as associate judge of the second circuit ran until 1908. Both Republicans and Democrats alike generally endorsed Crothers, calling him "industrious. . . a man of high character, of ability, of patience, and a good lawyer."⁵

During his term on the bench, Crothers both refrained from active politics and announced that he would not seek reelection. In so doing, he successfully avoided being drawn into intra-party struggles between former Governor John Walter Smith and Governor Warfield. In fact, although appointed judge by Warfield, Crothers eventually received both Smith and Warfield's support for the gover-

norship. Up to the time of the party convention, the leading candidate was Baltimore businessman Henry Williams who enjoyed the backing of longtime Congressman and head of the Baltimore county organization J. F. C. Talbott and Arthur Pue Gorman, Jr. The powerful Baltimore *Sun* withdrew its support for Williams as did one of the party's largest financial backers, however, just as the convention opened, thus, paving the way for Crothers as a compromise candidate. He was hardly the strongest or most prominent Democrat, but he was available and nothing in his record alienated party leaders.⁶

Shortly after the campaign began Judge Crothers contracted typhoid fever, which kept him from active participation. Thus, most of the campaigning on his behalf devolved onto other Democratic candidates, with the strong support of the *Sun*. Republican candidates received equally strong support from the Baltimore *News*, but the *Sun* had by far the largest circulation and political influence. Democratic platform pledges included a commitment to two specific election reforms: a renewed call for a corrupt practices act applicable to primary and general elections, with stiff penalties for violations, and a general endorsement of statewide primary elections, including a primary for United States Senator. The issue of black disfranchisement temporarily lapsed into the background during the campaign. Republicans adopted a similar platform. With no major issues dividing either party or distinguishing one from the other, Crothers defeated Baltimore reform leader George R. Gaither by a majority of about 8,000 votes.⁷

Although he did not endorse any new progressive measures when he delivered his inaugural address, Crothers pledged to redeem his party's planks calling for a corrupt practices act and a statewide primary election law. Devoting the first part of his speech to a typically progressive analysis of political corruption, Crothers adopted the reform rhetoric as well:

The evils of bribery in its various forms at elections are, in my judgement, the most serious with which we have to deal. No effort should be spared to stamp out this species of corruption. Let us cut this evil practice up by the very roots and cast it out wholly and forever from our Commonwealth, so that our elections shall be unblemished and pure.

From examination of several of the corrupt practices acts passed in other states and in England, Crothers had developed the general dimensions of the bill he wished the legislature to enact. He called for a bill requiring publication of campaign expenditures, receipts, and sources of such contributions. Such a law, he felt, should also limit the amount spent on campaigns and should prohibit contributions from corporations.⁸

Given the Governor's strong support for the bill, it was only natural that a corrupt practices act became one of the first items of business for the new legislature when it convened in January, 1908. At Crothers' direction, Attorney General Isaac Lobe Straus drafted a bill including all the suggestions the Governor had made in his inaugural address. Straus was an independent-minded Jewish attorney from Baltimore who, after being elected to the House of Delegates in 1902, began actively to oppose the racist policies of the Democratic machine. In his new position he worked closely with Crothers in drafting and supporting progressive legislation. Senator J. Frank Harper introduced the bill at the

Governor's behest and piloted it through the Senate. Although it underwent some change while in committee, and Crothers expressed concern over the delay, the bill passed the Senate in substantially the form that Straus had written it. After House approval the Governor signed the bill into law in late March. Senator Harper, commenting on passage of the bill, forecast "a better and cleaner condition in politics throughout Maryland . . . [it] will go a long way to eliminate bribery and corruption."⁹

Attorney General Straus, again at the Governor's request, prepared a bill to fulfill the party's pledge for a statewide primary law. It aroused opposition, however, among Democrats themselves. Crothers had realized that legislators might oppose the bill because of the cost of conducting primaries, but he felt confident that expenses could be minimized if the state assumed responsibility for coordinating the elections. He asked leaders of both parties not to emasculate the bill by exempting individual counties, as they had a primary bill in 1902.¹⁰

Before the administration formally introduced its bill, state Senator Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., leader of the regular Democrats, introduced his own less sweeping measure which excluded Baltimore and did not include provisions for selection of United States Senators. In an interview just after the introduction of Gorman's bill, Crothers refrained from commenting on the bill because, he said, he had not had an opportunity to read it. The Governor made it clear, however, that he wished a comprehensive bill without crippling amendments or exemptions. He essentially wanted a statewide version of the Crawford county primary law, the most complete county primary law in the state. But with Gorman's bill already before the Senate, Crothers realized that Democrats could divide between a stronger administration bill and Gorman's more limited proposal and pass neither. He therefore called a conference of leading Democrats to seek support for his proposal. In spite of his efforts, however, the Senate Democratic caucus voted against his version of the bill, ten to seven, and settled on a milder version modeled on the law then in force in Montgomery county. The major weaknesses of that law, as Crothers saw it, were its inequity to Baltimore and its bias in favor of rural counties generally. Republicans and some Democrats, therefore, took exception to the bill. Further, they objected to the method used to secure its passage: in the confusion of the legislative session's closing days, the primary bill had passed undebated—as a rider to another bill.¹¹

Crothers then had to decide whether to sign what he judged to be an inadequate bill or to veto it, thereby delaying any primary election law for at least two more years. Publicly responding to those who urged him to use his veto, the Governor explained his decision:

I like to look upon these things as a practical man. The question in my mind is, Have the people of the State received anything under the proposed Primary law? It is not a question whether the Governor got his way about it, but—have have the people got anything? If I see when I examine the bills that they have gotten nothing, I shall know how to act, but if they have been given any advantage under it, even if it does not go the whole length, they should feel satisfied.

Crothers obviously felt the people had gained something. Three days later, when signing the bill, he went to great lengths to point out the relative advantage of

the new law over the previous hodge-podge of different county laws. Even so, he continued to maintain the law was not completely to his liking.¹²

Other progressive bills introduced during the session with Crothers' support failed to pass even in modified form, perhaps because the Governor did not actively lobby for them. Typical of this group were two versions of a pure food bill. Crothers endorsed the concept of a pure food bill and expected little opposition from either party, yet, in the end, neither bill emerged from the legislature. In substance and intent the bills were nearly identical, but they differed on administration and enforcement procedures. One, for instance, prepared by the Maryland Agricultural College, placed the enforcement power with the state chemist of the Agricultural College; the second bill gave the same authority to the State Board of Health. The House passed the first bill, and the Senate passed the second, but since neither would compromise in committee, both bills died. Just why Crothers did not intervene on behalf of either bill or a compromise is uncertain. The issue was pending toward the end of the session, when Crothers was trying to persuade fellow Democrats to adopt his version of the primary election measure. He had made it clear on numerous occasions that he thought the corrupt practices act and primary election bill were the most important bills before the legislature, and he might have been unwilling to jeopardize either for a pure food law. He also realized that there was already a pure food law on the books, although it was not as stringent as either of the two bills considered at the 1908 session. Thus, the Maryland legislature ended its 1908 session and Crothers ended his first year in the state house having achieved both of the progressive measures for which the Democrats had campaigned in 1907, but not having established a general reform program.¹³

During Crothers' first year the progressives were also active within the minority Republican party. A small group of progressive Baltimore Republicans headed by Secretary of the Navy Charles J. Bonaparte had banded together to form the Reform League. Although it experienced its greatest success in Baltimore, the League occasionally influenced legislation at Annapolis. In 1908 the League, through a Republican delegate from Baltimore, introduced a public utilities commission bill designed to apply to that city. In the Democratically controlled House Corporations Committee the bill received an unfavorable report. Democratic Committee Chairman William M. Maloy then introduced a less drastic version also designed to apply only to Baltimore. With no indication from Crothers of strong support for either bill, neither passed the House. By the time of the legislature's next general session in 1910, however, Crothers would be spearheading a progressive drive for creation of a public utilities commission.¹⁴

Another reform measure introduced by Republican progressives during the 1908 session was a resolution calling for stricter enforcement of the state's anti-lobby law. Joseph I. France, Crothers' successful senatorial opponent in 1905, introduced the resolution. France may have sponsored it merely to highlight violations of the 1900 anti-lobby law and to embarrass Crothers—whose appointment to the judiciary in 1906 France had bitterly opposed. In any case, in an interview published in the *Sun*, Governor Crothers, without referring specifically to France's accusations, observed that the session showed little influence from

illegal lobby activities and cited the anti-lobby law of 1900 as sufficiently effective. Whether Crothers' comment influenced the legislators is doubtful, but the Senate Committee on Judicial Proceedings reported the resolution unfavorably. Even Republicans failed to support France, and so his resolution died with little fanfare.¹⁵

The 1908 session also saw pressure for progressive legislation from specific reform groups or coalitions which formed around specific issues. Organized labor authored and lobbied for bills designed to outlaw yellow dog contracts, to establish an eight hour day for miners, and to expand the fellow-servant or employer's liability law. Temperance groups pushed for adoption of a local option law. But without the firm commitment of either party to these bills, they generally failed although they did draw attention to the issues.¹⁶

In the final analysis, the two major Democratic reform bills passed by the 1908 session, prohibiting corrupt practices and regulating primary elections, had in fact been ones for which former governor Edwin Warfield had argued. His tenure, however, had been so dominated by Democratic division over the Poe Amendment that he had alienated many party regulars and influential leaders. It was left for Crothers, then, who had not broken with any important elements of the party, to succeed where Warfield had failed. Crothers also laid the foundation for future progressive legislation by appointing several unpaid commissions to study a variety of issues and to report their findings prior to the next legislative session. These special commissions were to study taxation and revenue, representation for Baltimore, modernization of the state constitution, public health, pure food, and education.¹⁷

Following the close of the 1908 session, the Governor crisscrossed the state giving speeches and interviews defending the achievements of his young administration and publicizing the need for implementing new ideas. While he took the opportunity to mend political fences and to attack Republicans, he increasingly concentrated on reform issues, emphasizing their importance to the exclusion of personalities and parties. Addressing party members at the first annual Jackson Day Dinner, Governor Crothers congratulated Democrats on adoption of the corrupt practices act:

There can be no clean or honest government when money controls the elections. Last week I sent out to people of different States, upon request, 10 copies of our Corrupt Practices act. The law enables the humblest man to aspire to the highest office in the State. It is no longer how much money a man has, but how much brains he has.

Nearly as often, he would add that it was "simply a beginning in the line of elections free from all possible control, and should be followed by the adoption of the direct system of nominating for all offices." In another speech just before the state Democratic convention, Crothers reviewed again the achievements of the legislature, declaring that the Democratic party "is now embarking on an era of progressive, constructive legislation. . . ." ¹⁸

Crothers believed the secret of good government was an informed and involved electorate. One way to increase citizen participation in government was by giving them a more active role in selecting their political leaders. His solution continued

to be statewide adoption of the Crawford county compulsory primary for all offices, and he offered it as the best possible law on the subject declaring:

It is truly a people's system. The candidates for public office are announced. The people have the fullest opportunity for examination into their character and fitness for the position to which they aspire. They are not thrown upon the canvas, as has been sometimes done at conventions, when their candidacy has not been known before their nomination. The tendency will be to improve the character of nominations and to induce the people to take a livelier interest in the policies for which they stand than is possible under the convention system.¹⁹

During the legislative intersession Crothers also spoke out frequently for a related political reform, popularly known as the Oregon plan. While the plan did not provide for the direct election of United States Senators, it achieved the same result. After Senatorial candidates won primary election nominations from their respective parties, they appeared on the general ballot at election time. The state Senate was then required to vote for the candidate who polled a majority of votes. Questioned about the new system the Governor emphasized his support for the measure because it took the selection "out of the domain of political manipulation" by permitting citizens to express their will directly.²⁰

Later that same year, addressing a Democratic meeting, he emphatically reiterated his position on election of Senators:

We stand for the instruction of our legislators by the people as to whom they shall elect to the United States Senate. We bring out into the limelight and give the names of the person or persons in order that the people might know whom we favor and in order to give them an opportunity to express their judgment, with a view of ultimately amending the law and making it still better by electing our United States Senators by the direct vote of the people themselves.

Crothers believed in direct elections and other election reforms because he felt they would increase voter participation. Once involved, voters would begin to pay more attention to the political philosophy of the candidates and the laws they defended or attacked. Voters would decide whom to support, not on the basis of party label or image, but on the basis of the candidates' stand on the issues.²¹

While he concentrated on these political reforms, Crothers' speeches and interviews increasingly included other progressive suggestions. He withheld specific recommendations on pure food, taxation and revenue, public health, and education legislation, pending reports of the various commissions he had appointed at the end of the previous legislative session, but he repeatedly spoke of the need for reform in those areas. During the intersession he spoke out for a state public utilities commission, and asked his cabinet to investigate laws in other states with an eye to drafting a comprehensive bill for submission to the next legislature.²²

Crothers' appointment of commissions to investigate issues and make recommendations reflected a typical progressive penchant—reliance on experts. It might also have been to minimize partisan reaction to suggested legislation. He probably realized that to move toward more reform legislation he would need bipartisan support. Many Democrats whom he had rallied to achieve the limited

reform measures of the 1908 session were opposed to further electoral reforms, particularly direct election of Senators and the Crawford county primary plan. They also split with him on the issue of increased representation for Baltimore: Crothers in favor and the conservatives adamantly against.

A. P. Gorman, Jr. and John Walter Smith led the opposition and dominated much of the party apparatus. Their strength was apparent at the state Democratic convention in August of 1909. As the highest ranking Democratic state officer, Crothers presided at the meeting, with the support of Attorney General Straus and former Governor Warfield, both of whom now represented the progressive wing of the party. Even so, the resolutions committee rejected out of hand the planks for which Crothers had so vigorously campaigned—the Crawford county primary and direct election of Senators. The Democratic platform did endorse the idea of a public utilities commission and a pure food act in line with suggestions of the Governor's committees. The platform also praised the effectiveness of the corrupt practices act and declared the adoption of a state suffrage amendment, as "the main and vital issue of the coming election." While promising to safeguard the rights of foreign-born citizens, the Democrats continued to cling to black disfranchisement as the final step to eliminating the Republican influence in the state.²³

Crothers continued to campaign for Democrats who would support his election reforms. He also made his position clear on the suffrage amendment. He, as the two previous Democratic governors, generally favored disfranchisement of blacks, and endorsed the new suffrage amendment. However, he placed his reforms ahead of the race issue, even though his party's platform declared it paramount. In the November elections, Democrats retained control of both houses of the legislature, but the suffrage amendment lost by a substantial margin.²⁴

Even before the election, Crothers began reviewing in detail reports of the committees he had appointed at the end of the 1908 legislative session. His speeches from then until his first biennial message to the legislature reflected his support for their recommendations. In particular he emphasized the need for economy in government, the adoption of the income tax amendment, and a variety of changes designed to make state government more efficient. Using many of the figures his commission on legislative expenses had gathered, Crothers prepared the public for his economy and efficiency recommendations.

One abuse which his predecessor had tried unsuccessfully to end, and which Crothers now tried to meet head-on, was the proliferation of political patronage positions among the legislative staff. In the last session of the legislature, Crothers noted, there were 360 employees, a record surpassed only once by California some years earlier. Generally states employed about the same number of additional personnel as the number of legislators, but Maryland with 128 members had nearly a three to one ratio.²⁵

Crothers also advocated abolition of the fee system because he felt, as did most progressives, that it was inefficient and encouraged dishonesty. Instead of receiving their salaries from fees they collected, state employees should earn a fixed, publicly established salary, he argued, and all fees should be turned over to the state. Under the fee system, only that amount of money in excess of the

employee's annual salary went to the state treasury. Other recommendations about which the Governor spoke were more technical, but followed similar guidelines for efficiency and economy.²⁶

Governor Crothers' first biennial message, therefore, contained few surprises since it incorporated ideas he had discussed in speeches across the state, pledges of the Democratic convention, and recommendations of the commissions he had appointed. He emphasized the need for changes in the primary election and corrupt practices acts, amendments to the child labor law, a pure food law, a law to combat "white slave" traffic, and a public utilities commission. He also urged reforms that would make state agencies more business-like in their methods of operation. The most important of these was the creation of a central purchasing agency for all state supplies, which would reduce costs and guarantee uniform quality. In a similar vein he sought legislative support for several uniform state bills which would make Maryland's laws conform to the laws of other states and reduce unnecessary legal confusion for citizens and corporations.²⁷

While both Crothers and the Democratic platform declared for a public utilities commission no one foresaw that it would become a key issue in the new legislature. When the Governor presented his biennial message, however, he devoted considerable space to the rationale for a strong commission. Corporations and citizens alike would be protected by a highly qualified commission, he noted, and the experience of Wisconsin, New York, Virginia, and North Carolina was sufficient to justify a commission for Maryland. Such a commission would

... shield and secure the people from injustice, abuse and disadvantages of whatsoever form at the hands of great corporations engaged for their own profit in the sale and supply of utilities and service of a general and public nature, and will reasonably guarantee to the people adequate and proper service at just prices.²⁸

Crothers' suggested changes in the primary election law and corrupt practices act were substantially the same recommendations he had been making since the adjournment of the last legislature. Although he had lost his battle to have the Democratic convention endorse the Crawford county primary system, he used the party's vague platform plank calling for amendments in the existing law as a means of reinserting his own recommendations. Without referring to the Crawford county system by name, Crothers urged the legislature to adopt a "mandatory system of nominations by the direct vote of the people for all offices filled by popular elections." He elaborated again the progressive argument that increased participation generated a more concerned and conscientious electorate which in turn elected the most qualified candidates based on their positions on the issues. Those candidates elected would in turn be more responsive to the will of the people because they would realize their continuance in office depended not on corporations or bosses, but on an informed electorate. Direct nominations alone were not a panacea, but it was one important feature in making the government "more economical, progressive and responsible. . . ."²⁹

The Governor suggested other steps designed to achieve the same ends. Asking the legislature to amend the Senatorial primary law to reduce campaign expenses of candidates, Crothers pointed out:

As the law now stands, this expense is not only oppressive and unjust, but is so discriminatory in favor of wealthy men and against men of moderate and limited means as virtually to exclude the latter from participation in the primaries in question. The honorable position of United States Senator should be open to every citizen, and talent, capacity and patriotism should not be subordinated to wealth as a qualification for the office.

Along similar lines, he suggested amendments to the corrupt practices act to prohibit anonymous campaign contributions and to limit the contributions of supporters to the same extent as the candidates themselves. To assure that the legislators could concentrate on these issues without undue interference, he promised to do all in his power to eliminate illegal lobbying.³⁰

Although Crothers made other progressive recommendations in his biennial message, they were subordinate to the electoral changes he sought. Progressive recommendations regarding a revised pure food law, a more inclusive child labor law, and a law to suppress prostitution, he might also have felt, were less controversial and therefore needed less defense. Regarding a new pure food law, he asked the legislature to act on the need for such legislation, but not to get mired in conflicting detail as the previous session had done. His suggestions for a more comprehensive child labor law followed the recommendations of the chief of the Bureau of Statistics and Information. The most important change was a proposal to increase the minimum age from twelve to fourteen. Crothers was less specific regarding the suppression of prostitution, merely suggesting that a rigid state law complementing the national law was necessary to end this sexual exploitation.³¹

Although he had spent considerable time just before and after the November elections calling attention to the need for economy and efficiency in government, Crothers did not devote much of his message to that theme. The Republican bid for progressive votes with an appeal for economy and efficiency may have partly dictated Crothers' stand on these issues, but his proposals probably also represented a natural outgrowth of his developing progressive political and social ideas. He had, after all, appointed commissions to investigate all aspects of state government with an eye to streamlining government operations. In most cases, Crothers appeared content merely to forward their recommendations to the legislature or to state his support of general laws embodying their suggestions. The only exception to this was his recommendation to abolish the fee system in the state; in this instance the suggestion was his own.³²

After preliminary organization of the Democratically controlled legislature and presentation of the Governor's message, the two houses set to work. Crothers had already asked Attorney General Straus to draft a detailed public utilities bill authorizing a commission appointed by the governor. The commission would be empowered to fix rates on all public utilities, including railroads and ships as well as gas, electricity, water power, telephones, and telegraphs. In large measure the bill followed the New York law of 1908 with some modifications. The Straus bill enjoyed the unanimous support of the Governor and his cabinet.³³

Before either house reported the bill from committee, however, several utility companies launched an expensive advertising campaign and expanded their

lobbying efforts at Annapolis to kill the bill. The companies sent open letters to the Judiciary Committee which was considering the bill, to the members of the legislature, and to the general public, which appeared in the state's major newspapers. At the same time the *Sun* published these letters, the paper argued on behalf of the bill on its editorial page. The utilities, however, opposed all bills on the subject, even a more moderate one offered by Republicans. The Reform League also submitted a bill but it stood the least chance of passage since the regular Republicans backed their own version and most of the Democrats lined up behind Crothers for the Straus bill.³⁴

Up to this point it had seemed fairly certain that the Governor would get his way on the utilities bill. Then the leading organization Democrat and president of the Senate, Arthur P. Gorman, Jr., introduced a fourth utilities bill, withholding from the commission the power to fix rates and restricting its jurisdiction to Baltimore. As the session moved closer to adjournment it appeared that none of the four bills or even a compromise was likely to reach the Governor's desk.³⁵

Crothers declared his support for the Straus bill and lashed out at Democrats who, by their opposition or delay, were assuring its defeat. He made it clear that Gorman's bill was at most merely a compliance with the letter and not the spirit of the party pledge and then declared:

Any Democrat who fails to support a bill creating a public service commission I shall consider as outside the Democratic party. A man who refuses to abide by the party mandates as contained in the party platform has no right to call himself a Democrat, and I will not consider him a Democrat. To oppose the party platform is, in my estimation, a far more serious offense against the party than to oppose the party candidate.

He defended the Straus bill as being well written and adequately publicized. Representatives of public utilities corporations had received copies of the bill with the assurance that the Governor and his advisers would be willing to consider their objections. They had not responded. The Judiciary and Ways and Means committees had been sitting on the bill for more than two months. Those counselling further delay, Crothers felt, were "either ignorant to the danger of delay or are trying in this sinister manner to defeat the bill." The Governor also threatened to veto all purely local bills until a public utilities bill passed, a tactic designed to force support for the bill by legislators whose bread-and-butter bills for district constituents he might veto.³⁶

Democrats responded by closing ranks behind a slightly amended Straus bill which passed the House overwhelmingly. Once passage of the Straus measure appeared assured most Republicans voted for it, since they had also promised to enact a public utilities bill. The proposal encountered some delay in the Senate Finance Committee where opponents sought unsuccessfully to exempt gas companies, but the final Senate vote of 25 to 2 gave Crothers the bill he wished—on the last day of the session. The Governor proved as generous in victory as he had been stern in the face of possible defeat late in the session. Commenting on his fight for the bill, he gave ample recognition to his attorney general for his "courage and audacity" in defending the bill against amendments, and to the *Sun* for its consistent stand on its behalf.³⁷

Running parallel to the debate over the public utilities bills, but attracting less attention, was a move for another progressive reform close to Governor Crothers' interests—the mandatory statewide primary election law modeled on the Crawford county primary law. Attorney General Straus again drafted the administration proposal. The *Sun* forecast Republican opposition to it and speculated that Gorman might oppose the bill as he had at the Democratic convention. Shortly after the bill appeared in the House, Crothers canvassed the legislature to determine the measure's chances. He found that it would take a united party to pass the bill, and so he promised to use his patronage to keep fellow Democrats in line. Even so he could not exert too much leverage because the legislature was also considering the utilities bill and most of those who opposed that bill also opposed the mandatory primary.³⁸

Crothers might have had a chance, had not another Democrat introduced a rival bill. Blair Lee, the progressive Democrat from suburban Montgomery county who wrote the Senatorial primary law of 1908, offered his own primary bill essentially extending the provisions of the Senatorial primary to all state contests but allowing state party conventions to continue nominating candidates for governor, attorney general, comptroller, and court of appeals. These conventions, however, at least indirectly represented the wishes of the voters because delegates had to vote for the candidates who polled a majority of votes in their respective counties. Finally, the Lee bill required both parties to hold their primaries on the same day.³⁹

Gorman and John Walter Smith opposed both bills, but were sensitive to criticism from the press that they opposed all reform. Supporting the Lee primary bill, however, gave them the opportunity to choose a milder version of reform without giving too much ground to the Governor. Gorman also effectively stymied Crothers by letting him know that any strong pressure on the legislature to pass the Straus version would result in Gorman's opposition to other measures sought by the Governor. Although the mandatory direct primary bill received a favorable committee report late in the session, the House voted it down, paving the way for passage of Lee's bill. The lopsided 79 to 19 favorable vote in the House was a fairly solid party vote and represented the most obvious compromise of the session between the two Democratic factions. Crothers was disappointed, but it was too late in the session to send the bill back to the legislature. To do so would guarantee that there would be no new primary bill at all. He, therefore, reluctantly signed the bill into law.⁴⁰

A new attempt to update the state's pure food law unexpectedly encountered no significant opposition. The 1908 legislature had split over enforcement procedures. This time, however, when Dr. T. A. Ashby of Baltimore introduced a bill which had been prepared by the Governor's commission and which placed the enforcement authority in the hands of the Board of Health, no one opposed it. Dr. Ashby also introduced another bill on behalf of the administration, this one dealing with so-called "white-slave" traffic. At about the same time the federal Congress was considering the Mann Act, prohibiting the transportation of women across state lines for illegal or immoral purposes, Maryland passed the administration measure to suppress prostitution within the state. With little debate, the bill passed both houses unanimously and became law before the end of the session.⁴¹

Of the four major administration bills before the legislature: the Straus public utilities bill, the Straus primary election bill, the pure food bill, and the bill to suppress prostitution, three passed in substantially the form Crothers advised, and the fourth—the primary election law—was, he felt, a step in the right direction. The legislature considered other progressive bills many of which, though not administration measures, had the Governor's approval. Crothers approved of the income tax amendment, but was ambivalent whether the right of taxing incomes was the prerogative of the state or the federal government. In either case he wholeheartedly supported the idea of a progressive income tax as an additional source of revenue for government. He also generally favored labor's push for the eight hour day and workmen's compensation, a law imposing a license tax on automobiles, and a more stringent banking law to protect depositors. Other progressive bills called for an amendment to the state constitution allowing for the initiative and referendum, extended compulsory education, protected people from loan sharks, and provided for local option on the liquor question. Crothers seemed to have taken no significant stand on these latter measures, but did take a surprisingly conservative position in opposition to woman suffrage. Just why he opposed giving women the franchise is unclear since he never gave his reasons publicly. The woman suffrage proposal before the legislature did not even pass its first hurdle in the House. Even allowing for that exception, however, the legislature of 1910 passed the most progressive legislation of any session during the period.⁴²

Crothers' impressive record in the 1910 session did not come cheaply. On his two most important progressive proposals—the public utilities bill and the primary election bill—he had to face strong opposition from powerful Democrats. Invariably A. P. Gorman, Jr. led the opposition to Crothers' progressive measures in the legislature, and Senator John Walter Smith used his considerable influence throughout the state to do the same. Increasingly Crothers found himself in the same position as his predecessor, Edwin Warfield, who had also fought Smith and the Gormans, father and son. Where Warfield reacted viscerally to the party organization which opposed his progressive views, Crothers sought generally to conciliate. He faithfully made patronage appointments in line with the recommendations of organization Democrats and refrained from denouncing by name standpatters within the party. The 1910 legislative session, however, had stretched tolerance on both sides of the party to the breaking point. The *Baltimore Sun* indicated at the outset of the session that Crothers and Smith had had a difference over committee appointments in the legislature. Then, when one by one Crothers' progressive recommendations took the form of bills, the Gorman-Smith wing of the party began to strain relations even further by calling for crippling amendments, offering less comprehensive alternative bills, or opposing administration bills outright. Democrats divided predictably on the utilities bills, primary election bills, increased representation for Baltimore, and some of the efficiency reorganization bills. The fact that Crothers achieved so much without any open defections from his party was a tribute to his finesse. Fortunately for Crothers, he never had to face the difficult decision between his legislative program and the unity of his party. He was able to achieve much of both, but largely at the cost of his political future.⁴³

Even before he presented his legislative package to the 1910 session, Governor Crothers had anticipated the effect of many of his progressive proposals. To quiet rumors that he was backing progressive measures merely to further his political career, he publicly announced that he would not seek reelection or a seat in the United States Senate. Few people at the time took his announcement seriously, and after the accomplishments of the 1910 legislative session most people thought Crothers would change his mind. During the remainder of his administration, Crothers received encouragement to run for the presidency, the vice-presidency, the Senate, and for a second term as governor. Those who supported Crothers for another term or another office gave his reform record as the single most important reason for backing him.⁴⁴

Of the offices for which Crothers received support, the one mentioned most often was a second term as governor. A long tradition of single term governors militated against his chances for success, and the avowed candidacy of A. P. Gorman, Jr. meant that Crothers would have to face a powerful machine in the Democratic primary and convention. For a short time Crothers himself seemed doubtful about what he would do, but as time drew near for the Democratic gubernatorial primary, he reaffirmed his intention to step down at the end of his term and return to private life. At the same time, however, he was unwilling to hand over the office to a leader of the conservative element of his own party. While declining the nomination, therefore, he endorsed state Senator Blair Lee of Montgomery county, the author of the primary election law in the previous session of the legislature.⁴⁵

Democratic progressives around the state fell in line behind Lee. Progressive legislator J. F. C. Talbott became Lee's campaign manager, and the Progressive Democratic Association of Maryland added its endorsement after Crothers declined to run again. Crothers took the stump on Lee's behalf, emphasizing that Lee was committed to continued reform while Gorman was not. In one such campaign speech the Governor emphasized the difference between Lee's consistently progressive record and Gorman's last-minute conversion to progressivism:

Against his [Lee's] opponent, Mr. Gorman, I have no enmity, but I am afraid he is not in sympathy with the policies of progress upon which this State has entered and must continue if it would rank with its progressive sisters. . . . I am afraid he is not in sympathy with the system of direct primaries. He says he is, but I look at his record. I am afraid of his attitude on the Public Utilities law, which he tried to destroy. . . .⁴⁶

On another occasion he declared:

We want to put Maryland in the front rank of the march of progress. We want to be baptized with not a new Democracy, but with the old Democracy of Thomas Jefferson. Standpattism in both parties is dead, we hope never to be resurrected. We want to feel that we are keeping step with the great leaders of our party in other States and marching shoulder to shoulder with such men as Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey.⁴⁶

Whether Crothers was speaking merely rhetorically or actually believed that standpattism was dead, the primary results proved him wrong. Gorman narrowly defeated Lee in a disputed election. Lee did not contest the election, however, and Crothers even gave lukewarm support to Gorman in the general election.

When he spoke on Gorman's behalf, Crothers suggested that a vote for the Democrats would be a vote of confidence for his own administration. Division between the two factions of the party could not be so easily bridged, however. This, plus the fact that some Democrats were prosecuted for election frauds in Baltimore in connection with the primary shortly before the gubernatorial campaign closed, helped Republican candidate Phillips Lee Goldsborough defeat Gorman. The legislature remained firmly in the hands of the Democrats, and they won all elective state offices except the governorship. Gorman's repudiation at the polls, then, seemed to have been a personal loss, and regular Democrats still voted their usual ticket for other offices; the vote was less pro-Goldsborough than anti-Gorman. For his own part, Crothers felt he had done what party loyalty demanded in not bolting when Lee lost the nomination. He now put his energy into his last biennial message to be delivered at the opening of the 1912 legislature. He also encouraged Blair Lee to run for president of the Senate to guarantee the progressive recommendations of the outgoing Governor would get a favorable hearing in the legislature.⁴⁷

Crothers' second biennial message followed the general pattern of previous messages delivered at the end of a governor's term, but instead of merely reviewing the accomplishments of his administration, he made further suggestions for reform. These proposals were either restatements of reforms not yet passed by the legislature or pleas for amendments to existing laws to make them more effective or democratic. In particular, he wanted the legislature to modify the primary election law and the corrupt practices act. Regarding the former, for instance, he recommended that only the buyer of a vote in a primary be punished and that one-half of the fine imposed on the briber should go to the informer. He also suggested that the same idea be extended to general elections. In addition, Crothers argued for further refinement and extension of the primary election law.⁴⁸

The retiring Governor also suggested a series of amendments to the corrupt practices act of 1908, all of them dealing in some way with restricting or reducing the use of money in election campaigns. In addition, he recommended that the legislature increase the penalty for violation of certain parts of the law by adding a prison term to a mandatory fine. His final election reform proposal was advanced even by progressive standards:

Elections are public affairs and not personal, and we should not inculcate the idea in our laws that elections are personal matters and concern candidates alone. We should not close the door of hope to the young man of intelligence and patriotism and exclude him from the possibility of the gratification of political ambitions or prevent the State from securing the services of young men of that stamp simply because he cannot finance a campaign. We should redouble our efforts to reduce the use of money in elections, looking towards the time when it shall be absolutely eliminated, or reduced to such a small sum, which the State out of consideration of a wise public policy could well afford to pay. . . .⁴⁹

Crothers included two new progressive measures which had surfaced during the 1910 session but had failed to pass either house: a loan shark bill and an employers' liability bill. Crothers reported that usurious interest rates reached as

high as 124 percent annually. "These abuses are practiced upon people in poor and straitened circumstances," he declared, "absolutely ignorant of their rights in the premises, and it is, therefore, really profitting and trafficking in the distresses of mankind." To help alleviate the distress of those exploited by loan sharks he asked for a law requiring lenders to specify the exact amount of interest and other related expenses that might be charged.⁵⁰

One of his own commissions had studied and reported on a possible employers' liability law. Reviewing its work, Crothers pointed out that other progressive states such as Wisconsin, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts had already adopted such legislation. The commission proposal had borrowed some of their features, tailoring them to fit Maryland. Although he did not elaborate on the provisions of such a law, he reminded Democrats that they had been elected on a platform which included a plank in favor of a liability law, and the legislators could redeem their pledge most fully by passing the commission's proposed bill.⁵¹

The 1912 biennial message was Crothers' last official communication with the legislature. As he had promised two years earlier, he stepped down to return to private life. Why he chose to leave public life when he enjoyed widespread popular support is unclear. Since he died just four months after leaving office his poor health was certainly a major factor. Perhaps, too, he felt his continuance in office would further split the party without bringing it entirely into the progressive fold. A Warfield-Crothers-Straus-Talbott-Lee coalition might have successfully challenged the dominant Smith-Gorman Democrats for hegemony within the party, but that might have splintered the party permanently. The fact that the Republican party, while a minority party in Maryland, needed only a division in the ranks of the Democrats to turn them out of power, might have made progressives like Crothers less willing to oppose the organization. However, if the 1911 gubernatorial election was any gauge of Crothers' success in keeping the party together, then he failed, just as he failed to assert progressive control over the Democratic machine. When he left office the progressive movement within his party was already beginning to decline. His sudden death hastened that decline.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The General Assembly of Maryland, 1634-1776. By Carl N. Everstine. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, 1980. Pp. x, 597. \$12.00, cloth.)

Carl Everstine, in *The General Assembly of Maryland, 1634-1776*, has applied his considerable understanding of the present-day operation of the Maryland legislature to readable effect. Following closely the proceedings as they were published in the *Archives of Maryland*, Everstine takes the reader session by session through the major internal disputes and institutional developments that transpired in both houses. As he explains in his introduction and is evident from the table of contents, Everstine's objective is to write an administrative history of the legislature within a primarily chronological framework, replacing the often inaccurate and cursory *History* published by Elihu Riley in 1905. He can hardly be faulted for what he has not done, such as not delineating the careers and character of those who served in the legislature. This he has left to the Maryland Hall of Records legislative history project which has recently published its first volume of legislator biographies and has a three-volume analytical study of legislative behavior underway. Nor should Everstine's work be compared to that of Russell Menard, Lois Carr, David Jordan, Newton Mereness, or Charles Barker, who provide exhaustive and as yet unsurpassed accounts of the major political themes that dominated the years during which Dr. Everstine chronicles the activities of the General Assembly. Minor omissions such as referring to Walker Lewis's study of the Constitutional Convention of 1776, but overlooking the introduction to *The Decisive Blow is Struck* are inconsequential, as are the often anachronistic secondary sources used in providing historical background information on the English legal heritage.

The value of the Everstine volume lies in the able manner in which it summarizes the many volumes of Assembly proceedings in clearly written, informative, and at times amusing prose. For the latter, see his account of the disbarred attorney and clerk of the House, Thomas Macnemara, on pages 225-227. As Everstine readily admits his book is not meant to be pathbreaking or definitive, however, but rather informative condensations of legislative events. As such at times he covers familiar ground. His account of the Thomas Macnemara case is indeed enjoyable reading, but it is exclusively confined to Macnemara's involvement with the legislature. Aubrey Land's account of Macnemara in *The Dulanys of Maryland*, which perhaps Everstine should have cited, is placed in a much more general context and related to the wider happenings of the day.

On balance, Everstine has produced a solid reference work that will be required reading for anyone interested in the workings of the Maryland General Assembly through the American Revolution, and he will, I hope, be encouraged to continue his narrative to the present day, particularly the last four decades about which he knows so much from direct, personal experience working for and with the Legislature.

Maryland Hall of Records

EDWARD C. PAPENFUSE,
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The Rule Day Club, Baltimore, Maryland. By H. H. Walker Lewis. (Baltimore, Maryland: The Maryland Historical Society, 1980. 40 pp. paper.)

In the literature of Baltimore confraternities, medicine, with its ceaseless round of lives and self-lives, is doubtless the most lengthily represented. Theology has entered a period of quiet, but many volumes of previous-century sermons are still around somewhere.

Educators write, in phrases intelligible to other educators. Fourth among the estates, newspapermen saunter by: insufferable in their casualness, insuperable with their H. L. Mencken as master of reminiscences. And, somewhere in here, we have the lawyers.

For whatever reason—since antiquity, the law's inconsistencies, as the adversary process exalts contradiction and discounts common sense? in modern times, the frequency of corruption?—Baltimore's lawyers haven't been big in the bookstore window displays. Their public writings are of little account, even while New York is producing a Louis Auchincloss, a Louis Nizer; and Washington is grinding out Supreme Court lives and self-lives. Regardless, despite all this, let the Baltimoreans have heart. As long as Walker Lewis continues to turn out books and monographs, the brotherhood (where male and female lawyers are addressed alike, as esq.) will not lack for lustre.

Mr. Lewis is the retired corporation staff lawyer (Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.) whose biography of a chief justice, Roger B. Taney, was better than anything which has been done on that subject by even the professors and the journalists. Mr. Lewis charmed the *Atlantic Monthly's* audience with his racontage (footnote: there did not use to be such a word) concerning John Philip Hill's Prohibition-defying alcohol production, downtown at his "Franklin Farms" rowhouse. Mr. Lewis memorialized this city's federal district court. Latterly, as if tipping his hat during an afternoon walk, he has been saluting clubs: the 14 West Hamilton Street Club, and now the Rule Day Club. His labor, perceived from one direction, is a formal gesture; from another direction, which encompasses the author as stylist, what he does is confer an aspect of immortality.

The lawyers' custom of carrying shop talk over into a weekly luncheon or monthly soiree presumably goes back to law school days. Mr. Lewis enumerates, among pre-existing clubs in Baltimore, the Lawyers' Round Table, the Wranglers, the Wednesday Club and the Barristers. That was in 1932 when eighteen lawyers, the oldest of them 36, founded yet another such club, naming it for the second Monday, "being the return days (or 'Rule Days') of the local courts." Sessions, with dinner, were at the Baltimore Country Club, only to be shifted in the 1940s to the 14 West Hamilton Street Club. No point in trying to designate any one of these five lawyers' clubs as pre-eminent; overlapping membership occurs in any case. If the Rule Day Club can claim to have voted to admit Maryland's present Governor, Attorney General and chief judge of the Court of Appeals as far beforehand as 1967, and all three on the same day, we may call it the long arms of law and coincidence. Enough, to suggest that what the other four sets of lawyers have lacked is an original secretary with the literary skill of an H. H. Walker Lewis.

By now, the membership has expanded to 50, among whom a sociology student will find one group or another unrepresented or underrepresented. That is for the members to worry about—Benjamin R. Civiletti, the club's man in Jimmy Carter's Cabinet, is listed as having resigned. In this general connection, the sociologist will further note that while many a member has attained the judicial or political heights, conviction and imprisonment have also been within club-member experience. But from meeting to meeting the worry has been, simply, who's going to agree to write the scholarly paper to be presented next time, and then actually to do it.

Mr. Lewis is particularly good at reconstructing the climate of earlier times—the literal thing, those searing summers before Baltimore law offices were air conditioned; and the figurative, when the heat of partisan emotion was occasionally reflected from Baltimore streets. A reader, finding the humor in such passages overlain with patches of nostalgia, will plead *nolo obstaré*. Once the law clubs convened in joint session, Mr. Lewis reports, for an address by Mencken, none other, on "Smoke-Filled Rooms." The evening is recorded as a triumph—or disaster, the Mencken fans will say, for no working court stenographer was present. Students of Baltimore folkways will rejoice that Walker Lewis was present for the first half century-plus of the Rule Day Club.

Baltimore, Maryland

JAMES H. BREADY

The Union Memorial Hospital, Its Story . . . Its People: 125 Years of Caring. By Lillian H. Hofmeister. (Baltimore, Md.: Waverly Press, Inc., for the Union Memorial Hospital, 1980. Pp. 210 plus appendices. No price given; obtainable from the Hospital's Office of Community Relations & Public Information.)

Originally a 1093-page manuscript, Hofmeister's *Union Memorial Hospital* (UMH) was pared back to a more suitable length by Virginia L. Nelson. Both Hofmeister and Nelson have been associated closely with the hospital, which seems to account for the nature of this history which "traces by decades some of the little-known and human interest stories of the hospital." (p. vii) The two-part narrative (Union Protestant Infirmary or UPI, 1854-1923; UMH, 1924-) is also meant to update Roberta L. Ball's fifty-one page history of the hospital published in 1937.

Union Memorial Hospital is more a tribute than a critical analysis and less a history than a genealogy or highly personal "biography" of the hospital's past. Persons interested specifically in the UPI/UMH will probably find the book quite interesting and entertaining while it is of limited direct value to the general medical or social historian. There is no index or bibliography and there are only two footnotes.

The most pervasive themes are the economics, physical growth and personnel turnovers of the UPI/UMH, especially as the hospital was affected by the Civil War, World War I and World War II. The details for these themes consist primarily of illustrative excerpts from annual reports which could have provided good points of departure for analyses of the nature, depth and social context of the struggle to maintain the hospital on a charitable basis (at any given time, the majority of patients were non- or part-pay). Though fund drives, bond sales and appeals for public money are itemized, little is said about how, and how deeply, such financial pleas tied the institution to the Baltimore community. It is puzzling to read, for instance, that as late as 1952 "many people feel that the Union Memorial Hospital is primarily maintained for private patients and few realize the tremendous service it renders to the middle and lower income groups." (p. 130) That year there were 34.4 percent private and 62.2 percent semi-private patients. In 1945 there were 6.5 percent "free patients," 64 percent part-pay and 29.5 percent full-pay. Given these statistics, the publicity generated by numerous fund-raising drives, and the general charitable nature of the hospital since its inception in 1854, it would be useful to know why the president of the Board of Managers, Mrs. Albert C. Bruce, felt compelled to complain of such a misunderstanding.

By 1974 the hospital was described as a "non-profit business" and legally an "eleemosynary institution," an "educational institution" with residency programs and two nursing schools (the UMH School of Nursing with a three-year program offering an RN degree and the Johnston School of Practical Nursing) and a "community oriented hospital." (p. 182) Useful data are scattered throughout the text on how the hospital evolved from the small UPI, founded by a group of prominent Protestant Baltimore women, to the UMH in 1924 and the large, complex and modern educational and emergency health care center of today. Still, the growth of the hospital in its larger social context is only hinted at and any comparative history of UMH and the other Baltimore hospitals is almost incidental. The former point is specifically evident in the acknowledgment that in 1854 many people expressed a great need for a Protestant-run charitable hospital in Baltimore because other like institutions were under Catholic control. Here, Hofmeister apparently works on the assumption that the enterprise was not influenced by the nativist movement with its peculiar strength in Maryland in the 1840s and early 1850s. Perhaps nativism had nothing to do with the establishment of the UPI, but the reader does not know because the issue is not addressed.

Socialized medicine, medical insurance, professional societies, the role of the state and their relation to private volunteer-charitable hospitals are mentioned, but not elucidated.

The author offers interesting excerpts on these subjects from a post-World War II speech by Board President Mrs. Francis F. Beirne (pp. 122-24), and she returns to these issues later in the book (pp. 127, 128, 166, 172, 181, 183 and 187-88). Still, Hofmeister leaves the reader to his or her own research to figure out the impact of growing government and professional association involvement. This is regrettable because the UPI/UMH's responses to these matters appear typically ambivalent for an institution which supports simultaneously individual responsibility, self-help and charity for those who need it. While the state is needed for certification and funds and feared for its potential powers of control, the national medical and hospital associations are necessary for professional endorsements but resented for their preferential treatment toward the larger teaching hospitals. A more detailed study of such agonizing would be interesting and instructive. It is also not explicit who the hospital's clientele was over the years, particularly in the matter of race, though UPI/UMH was, and is, nondenominational in its services and open to non-Baltimoreans.

It is only fair to reassert more firmly here that Hofmeister accomplishes very well what she sets out to do. Most of the issues raised in this review fall clearly outside the parameters of the study. Still, they are points the author touches upon and they are important to a fuller understanding of the UPI/UMH's role relative to Baltimore health care delivery from 1854 to the present. Hofmeister has shown that, in this regard, the hospital's annual reports might be of particular use to students interested in a more elaborately defined social meaning of the hospital's history as well as a clearer view of how the internal workings of the organization (finances, staff arrangements, etc.) were shaped by numerous and complicated internal and external stresses.

Finally, the book includes thirty-three pages of appendices giving lists of Boards of Managers, Trustees, Directors, Chiefs of Staff, Superintendents/Directors for the Training School for Nurses, Presidents of the UMH Auxiliary, of the Alumnae Association of the Training School for Nurses, Physicians on the Visiting Staffs (broken down by special fields), Attending Staff, Courtesy Staff, etc. and a list of Contributions and Memorials greater than \$25,000. Also, the Waverly Press of Baltimore deserves praise for an excellent composition and printing job.

University of Maryland

CRAIG DONEGAN

Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America. By Linda K. Kerber (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980. Pp. x, 304. \$19.50 cloth, \$9.00 paper.)

Conscious of the far-reaching effects of war on women—most notably World War Two and the American Civil War—several historians have now published studies of women during the Revolutionary War. However, their interpretations have pointed in different directions. To some the revolutionary-republican period saw more rights and new options being made available to women. To others the relative importance and wide range of activities that supposedly belonged to colonial women were sharply curtailed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Linda Kerber's book contributes to this controversy by presenting a conservative appraisal of the period.

Wartime experiences raised the political awareness of women and to some extent eroded the barriers separating the domestic from the public sphere. Decisions about whether to buy imported British goods had this effect even before the war began. Once hostilities commenced, Kerber reveals the range of female contributions as heads of households, serving behind the lines, as fund-raisers, couriers and sometimes as spies, and in the more prosaic task of making clothes for the armies. These experiences might well have led to a permanent expansion of female roles. Furthermore, the republican ideology of individual rights could most reasonably have been interpreted to include women. But the weighty

hand of tradition checked change, especially in law and politics. Only in the field of education were new opportunities extended to women. Even then, impassioned outbursts of antagonism toward intellectual women charged them with forsaking their domestic responsibilities and behaving like men. Professor Kerber shows how a carefully constructed rationale for female education was then built on the inherently conservative notion that it would equip mothers to raise their sons as good citizens of the Republic.

There is much to interest the general reader in Kerber's book. She uses a wide range of materials and incorporates quotations from unpublished diaries, journals and personal papers which help to recreate the private world of eighteenth-century females. Her examination of divorce cases in Connecticut provides insight into domestic relations; and her description of women's wartime roles and dilemmas is fascinating. The volume is enhanced by a series of handsome illustrations that show the use of the female image in patriotic iconography.

For the specialist the book offers somewhat less than might be expected. Its treatment of prescriptive literature adds little to the standard works by Mary Benson and Janet James. To those familiar with the writings of Benjamin Rush, the development of Republican Motherhood comes as no surprise. There is a useful analysis of legal changes in the revolutionary period and suggestive treatment of the transition from an oral to a written culture. Kerber is at her best when drawing out the subtle ramifications of the denial of citizenship to women. While men passed from non-participation in politics through deference to egalitarian democracy, women's patriotic zeal was diverted into benevolence and then into the deference of a petitioner for reform. Women therefore lagged behind in the progress toward modernization. Perhaps it is here that the book makes its most promising contribution.

Hood College

MARGARET W. MASSON

Resource Guide for the War of 1812. Compiled by John C. Frederiksen. (Los Angeles: Subia, Inc., 1979. Pp. vii, 156. \$10.50, paper.)

John Frederiksen's purpose in compiling this guide is to "promote research on the War of 1812 and perhaps rekindle a general interest" in a subject he terms unpopular and "imprisoned to the backwaters of American History." The fact that he could accumulate enough material to publish a 156 page research tool does, however, make one doubt that historians ever neglected the war or imprisoned it in any way.

The book is devoted primarily to printed materials. The thirteen chapters listing books and articles are arranged according to geographical regions and subject matter. There are sections on the South, the Atlantic Seaboard, the War at Sea, Prisoners of War, and others. In all, the bibliography includes 1674 entries of which 119 concern the Chesapeake region. Particularly useful is the appendix on the more than one hundred manuscript repositories in the United States and Canada that hold material relating to the War of 1812. That Mr. Frederiksen chooses only two manuscript collections for the Maryland Historical Society entry points, however, to the obvious fact that at least the manuscripts guide is far from complete.

Concluding the book are appendices on the service of United States, British, Canadian, marine, and foreign military regiments, including the 14th and 38th Maryland infantries and the 36th Maryland and Virginia infantry; a chronology of the war on land; and notable ship engagements.

Whether the War of 1812 actually merits more attention than it has already received is open to question. Nevertheless, for the military history buff and for others interested in the period, this guide is the necessary starting point.

The New-York Historical Society

LARRY E. SULLIVAN

Foggy Bottom 1800-1875, A Study in the Uses of An Urban Neighborhood. By Suzanne Berry Sherwood. (Washington, D.C.: George Washington University Studies No. 7, 1978. Pp. vii, 70. \$4.00.)

Stability and change are two major themes constantly stressed in studies of urban communities. Suzanne Sherwood's study of Foggy Bottom, a Washington neighborhood on the Potomac between Georgetown and the Tidal Basin, emphasizes community change and its causes. For students of Baltimore history and urban planning the causes of residential change and stability in Foggy Bottom may help to explain some of Baltimore's successes and failures in neighborhood persistence.

The major theme of the book is that Foggy Bottom was influenced by differing forms of economic demand for Foggy Bottom space. The changes in economic and social process in the Washington region surrounding this community during the period 1850 to 1950 had a direct effect on the demand for real estate in Foggy Bottom. During most of the nineteenth century she was an industrial extension of the Georgetown waterfront. The need for labor attracted Germans and Irish and thus by 1900 Foggy Bottom had become an ethnic, working-class neighborhood. As railroads and trucks replaced ships, the significance of its location on the river disappeared. Suburbanization, which began with the introduction of the electric streetcar in the 1890s, continued into the 1920s and 1930s and permitted all but the poorest to move farther out.

The process of urban change in Foggy Bottom after 1930 followed pretty much the patterns in other American cities. By 1950 the area became a slum inhabited mostly by blacks. This condition brought about rehabilitation and new plans. Foggy Bottom's proximity to downtown Washington transformed her overnight into a quaint, white middle-class neighborhood.

At this stage in its development Foggy Bottom tends to differ from Baltimore and other cities. Her residents were powerless to combat the many outside forces that were trying to change the neighborhood. The attraction to live near downtown Washington for some, while the desire to retreat from the downtown into the suburbs as rapidly as possible by others, left the planners for Foggy Bottom on the horns of a dilemma. The residents were caught in the middle between the highway builders and the apartment builders. The result was that the neighborhood as a residential community was destroyed and replaced by a concentration of high-income "apartment and office buildings set in vast voids created by parking lots and highways."

The lesson learned from this is that a residential community in a large city is only as stable as the social and economic forces in that part of the city that are acting on the community. Highlandtown, Canton, Hampden, and Locust Point, all working-class residential areas in Baltimore, have remained relatively stable neighborhoods because the economic and social forces within the surrounding city have not forced extensive changes upon them. Baltimore's inner harbor area, however has followed to some degree Foggy Bottom's physical changes with an almost complete elimination of the old neighborhoods. Baltimore's change, however, was far better planned because it did not suffer from as many conflicting outside forces as Foggy Bottom. Both were victims of changing economic patterns and the expansion of the central city.

The strength of the book is its analysis of urban development without a central plan. Citizens' groups in Foggy Bottom were powerless to influence policy making because at the time Washington residents did not elect their city officials. Conflicts over planning objectives ensued, and the rich developers and Federal highway planners became too powerful for the local residential rehabilitators. This situation, although unique with Washington, could happen in other cities where certain communities have limited political power and organizational ability. Baltimore, itself, has a few neighborhoods like this where the political power has seen better days.

Those interested in the social development of a community may find the book somewhat wanting. The analysis of changing ethnic and racial patterns might have been stronger with more specific information on particular blocks and how they changed. The author could have used the manuscript census for block data for the period prior to 1900. City directories could have been used for block data for the period after 1930. These two sources would, perhaps, have enlightened readers more about the people living in the community. Instead, the reader is introduced to "brush fires which local residents were ill-equipped to fight" but is left not knowing very much about these local residents or their organizations.

Suzanne Sherwood has produced a book that is well-illustrated with maps and photographs and has written it from a planner's point of view. The theme is urban land use; she concludes by showing how this developed into urban misuse. The book takes an approach to the study of Foggy Bottom that is more geographical and chronological in scope than historical. Suzanne Sherwood has, nevertheless, treated a misunderstood and neglected subject with clarity and has assisted greatly the further understanding of the complex process of urbanization.

University of Baltimore

D. RANDALL BEIRNE

BOOKS RECEIVED

Allen, David Grayson. *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transfer of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century.*

(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1981. Pp. xxii, 312. Maps, tables, appendices, index. \$27.00, cloth.)

Buel, Richard, Jr. *Dear Liberty: Connecticut's Mobilization for the Revolutionary War.* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1980. Pp. xviii, 425. Tables, index. \$22.50, cloth.)

Callcott, George H., ed. *Forty Years as a College President: Memoirs of Wilson Elkins.* (College Park: The University of Maryland, 1981. Pp. xii, 185. Illustrations, index. \$. , cloth.)

Campbell, Ballard C. *Representative Democracy: Public Policy and Midwestern Legislatures in the Late Nineteenth Century.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980. Pp. xi, 260. Tables, appendix, index. \$20.00, cloth.)

Geiger, Sister M. Virginia. *Daniel Carroll II: One Man and His Descendants, 1730-1978.* (Baltimore: By the author, 1979. Pp. xiii, 314. Illustrations, charts, index. \$21.00, paper.)

Hosmer, Charles B., Jr. *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949.* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for The Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, 1981. 2 vols., pp. xvi, 1291. Illustrations, index. \$37.50, cloth.)

Idzerda, Stanley J., editor. *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution: Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790; Volume III, April 27, 1780-March 29, 1781.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980. Pp. xlv, 577. Illustrations, index. \$35.00, cloth.)

Kagle, Stephen E. *American Diary Literature, 1620-1799.* Twayne United States Authors Series. (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1979. 203 pp. Indexed. \$13.50, cloth.)

Loveland, Anne C. *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800-1860.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. Pp. xiv, 293. Indexed. \$12.95, paper; \$30.00, cloth.)

Low, W. Augustus, and Virgil A. Clift, eds. *Encyclopedia of Black America.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981. Pp. xx, 921. Illustrations, tables, index. \$49.50, cloth.)

- Moss, Alfred A., Jr. *The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. 327 pp. Illustrations, index. \$30.00, cloth; \$12.95, paper.)
- Stillinger, Elizabeth. *The Antiquers*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980. Pp. xvi, 302. Illustrations, index. \$16.95, cloth.)
- Smith, Elbert B. *Francis Preston Blair*. (New York: The Free Press—Macmillan, 1980. Pp. xv, 481. Illustrations, index. \$15.00, cloth.)
- Sommers, Richard J. *Richmond Redeemed: The Seige at Petersburg*. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1981. Pp. xxvi, 670. Maps, illustrations, appendices, index. \$22.50, cloth.)
- Thomas, Sherry. *We Didn't Have Much, But We Sure Had Plenty: Stories of Rural Women*. (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981. Pp. xviii, 185. Illustrations. \$7.95, paper.)
- Wright, J. Leitch, Jr. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South*. (New York: The Free Press—Macmillan, 1981. Pp. xi, 372. Illustrations, index. \$16.95, cloth.)

NEWS AND NOTICES

The Queen Anne Press of Wye Institute announces a \$5,000 cash award for an original manuscript of a new book about the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The prize is thought to be the first of its kind ever offered here.

According to Wye Institute President James G. Nelson, the award will be given for that work of nonfiction or fiction, prose or poetry which, ideally, will contribute to a greater understanding of the unique qualities of the Eastern Shore from the time of its early settlement to today.

Manuscripts may be submitted by any person regardless of previous writing experience or place of residence. Entries must be received by November 1, 1981. The winning entry will be announced by December 31, 1981. The subject of the submitted work may be contemporary, or it may deal with the historical past, but it must pertain in whole or in largest part to the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Requests for detailed information about The Queen Anne Press Literary Award should be sent to the Director, The Queen Anne Press, P. O. Box 50, Queenstown, Md. 21658. Or, call (301) 827-7401.

The Queen Anne Press was established in 1977 as a noncommercial press to publish books about the Eastern Shore in subject fields which, historically, have had limited appeal to commercial publishers. Its publications to date have included a regional bibliography and a survey of the area's historic churches published for the Talbot County Historical Society.

The History Department of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County announces a new graduate program in Historical Studies. The program leads to an M.A. degree and is characterized by a strong emphasis on the new thematic, comparative and interdisciplinary approaches to the study of the past. Most graduate courses will be offered during the evening hours. Graduate teaching assistantships are available for a number of qualified students. Applications for September 1981 admissions are due by August 1. For admission application forms, general information about the Historical Studies program, and a Graduate School Catalog, contact:

Dr. John W. Jeffries, Coordinator
Department of History
UMBC
5401 Wilkens Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21228
(301) 455-2312

The new nonprofit quarterly *International Maritime Journal*, published in the U.K. by Studies in Economic History, is devoted to the publication of postgraduate research into the maritime aspects of economic history. The first issue will contain a paper on the convict servant trade between the west of England and Maryland in the eighteenth century, and it is hoped that American scholars will submit further work on Maryland's maritime history. The Editor is prepared to consider papers on the evolution of trade

routes, the development of markets and effects on currencies, emigration, and the political bases of mercantile policy. The subscription for private individuals in North America is \$30.00 per year.

All enquiries should be addressed to:

A. John Savory, Editor
International Maritime Journal
Studies in Economic History
51 Boston Road
Ipswich IP4 4EO
U.K.

WASHINGTON COLLEGE BICENTENNIAL

On March 17th of this year the 1844 cornerstone of Middle Hall at Washington College, Chestertown, was removed and opened up for inspection. Several gold and silver coins as well as a pile of decomposed documents were retrieved from a zinc box. This event marked the beginning of an effort to recover all possible evidence of the College's first edifice, which was constructed between 1783 and 1788 but destroyed by fire in 1827.

This brick structure, measuring 160 feet across the main front, was the largest in the state during the late eighteenth-century. Soon after the opening of the cornerstone, with the advice and guidance of State Archaeologist Tyler Bastian, Professor Robert J. H. Janson-La Palme began conducting a below-ground investigation of the College Hill area in search of the original foundations. A model of this important monument is being made in time for the Bicentennial celebrations of Maryland's oldest college. The festivities will be taking place during the 1981-82 academic year, and it is hoped that more refined excavations will be uncovering a sizable cache of historical artifacts as the year progresses.

COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HIGHLIGHTS

CHARLES COUNTY

The Historical Society of Charles County has recently been given an American-made mahogany Hepplewhite-style table. The donor is Mrs. Isabel Willard, past Regent to Gunston Hall from South Carolina. The reason for, and the history of this gift makes an interesting story.

In 1961 a Miss Katherine Duckwall died, providing in her will:

To COLONIAL DAMES—to be placed in Gunston Hall—Tip top mahogany card table and three antique chairs which belonged to my grandmother, Virginia Mason Bronaugh Duckwall (great granddaughter of George Mason). These chairs and this table I have been told by my family were originally at Gunston Hall.

Despite the above bequest, in June 1978 this table was bought by the Gunston Hall Furnishings Committee from Mr. Richard K. Fliss of Annapolis, who verified that the table had belonged to Miss Duckwall.

Upon close examination by an expert from Williamsburg and one from Washington, the table was reported to have had extensive repair through the years. The woods of the top and folding leaf and the hinges are 18th century. The repair to the base is late 19th, and some of it possibly 20th century.

After much discussion the Board of Regents of Gunston Hall voted not to keep the table "solely because its period is a little late for Gunston Hall." At this point Mrs. Willard bought the table and wanted to return it to Maryland. Charles County was its logical home for many reasons. George Mason's wife was Ann Elibeck of Araby. George Mason had spent much of his childhood visiting his grandparents at their home Gunston Hall. This was the first Gunston Hall in America, located off Route No. 6 near Welcome.

As a matter of fact, this may not be the first time the table has been in Charles County. In the papers of George Mason is a letter he wrote at the time of the Revolutionary War to Pearson Chapman of Chapmans Landing:

Gunston Hall

Thursday Afternoon, May 31st, 1781

Dear Sir:

The rapid march of the enemy obliges me to send as many of my effects, as I can readily remove, to Maryland, and I expect to follow immediately with Mrs. Mason and my daughters. I must therefore beg the favour of you to permit all the things I send to be put into your dwelling house, for safety, until I can carry them up to my son William's house [Araby] at the head of Mattawoman, which I shall do with all possible expedition. I expect Mrs. Mason and the girls will be over early tomorrow.

Another letter of interest is one George Mason wrote in 1781 from Gunston to his son George, who was in Paris.



FIGURE 1.

Maryland Table. Southern Maryland Room, Charles County Community College, LaPlata, Maryland. Property: Charles County Historical Society. Photo by John Kopp.

... This Family has not yet lost any Tobo., Slaves, or other Property, by the Enemy; altho their Ships have been as high as Alexandria; but we are in daily expectation of sharing the same Fate with our Neighbours upon this, & the other Rivers: where many Familys have been suddenly reduced from Opulence to Indigence, particularly upon James River; the Enemy taking all the Slaves, Horses, Cattle, Furniture, & other Property, they can lay their Hands on: and what they can't carry away they wantonly destroy. We have removed our Furniture, backwards & forwards, two or three times, upon different Alarms, by which it is very much damaged: great Part of it was pack'd up last Week, & sent to Maryland, where yr. Brother Thomas, & yr. Sisters now are. . . .

Who is to say the repairs on the Duckwall, or "Maryland Table," as it is called today at Gunston Hall, weren't necessitated as a result of trips back and forth across the Potomac River? At any rate, the table is lovely and has been placed to advantage in the Southern Maryland Room of the Charles County Community College. Do come to see the table and through it get to know George Mason, American patriot and the author of the Virginia Bill of Rights, one who has been designated the "Pen of the Revolution."

BALTIMORE COUNTY

The Baltimore County Historical Society library contains an ancient ledger kept by Charles Jessop, owner of "Vauxhall," a large estate that once stood east

my Name is Charles Jessop
 I was Born in Baltimore County the son
 of Maryland on the 5 day of November 1759
 I was about 12 years of age when I heard
 a man preach for the first time and he was a
 Methodist and his name was David I then was
 convinced that I was a sinner and I then for
 some resolutions that I would keep from
 making games of body words as I had bin in
 the habit of making some of a but much to
 my shame I don't for but my promises as he
 he me to take me by the hand and teach me
 the way I down found my self want I was
 when I first heard the man of God preach
 at the age of 16 years I was bound out as a
 business to the mill right beside my town
 was my and hard such times in want of clothing
 and at other times in want of food in the latter part
 of my present ship I was drafted and went into
 the army of the United States and the revolution
 war and I then was a lame not to reflect on
 my past life and thought if I should be sold out
 would become of my poor self if then become fresh
 washings and promise of God would spare me that
 I could show him and make him in the way that I
 had live here to fore but I have forgot then
 promises I had maid and began much more
 of the wicked one I was fond of both fighting
 horse raising card playing and two fold of fighting
 and doing much fight all the I feared not
 man in T. V. I frequently from my self
 that I would try to do better

FIGURE 2.

Charles Jessop's Diary. Baltimore County Historical Society Library. Photo by Elmer R. Haile, Jr.

of York Road and north of Ashland. Charles Jessop (1759–1828) was a Revolutionary patriot and an early convert to Methodism. He was until 1807 manager of Governor Ridgely's iron forges on the Great Gunpowder Falls at the present Md. Route 7 (Philadelphia or Post Road). At 300 pounds, this stout millwright and farmer was reputed to be one of the strongest men in the state, and people came from far and wide to challenge him at wrestling—presumably to their regret. Jessop selected the land on which Jessop Methodist Church stands, was one of its first trustees, and supervised construction about 1809. The "Beaver Dam Mill" which he acquired in 1827 had been built in 1791; it is better known

as Shipley's Mill. In 1914 it became part of Bishop's Fish Ranch. In the 1930s Mr. Bishop, son of the "birdseed man," converted the mill into a dwelling house which still stands, although not accessible to the public.

Among the mundane accounts in the ledger are a number of passages of prose and some accounts of marriages, births, and deaths in the neighborhood. The original spelling has been transcribed as recorded, along with some obscure and possibly indelicate comments. It begins with a capsule autobiography:

my Naim is Charles Jessop

I Was Born in Baltimor County the State of Maryland on the 6 day of November 1759. I was a bout 12 yeares of age when I heared a man preach for the first time and he was a methes and his naim was Bond. I then was convinced that I was a Siner and I then form som resulushens that I wold Brak of from making youes of Bad words as I had bin in the habet of making yous of, but much to my shaime I sone for got my promes as I had no one to take me by the hand and teach me the way. I soun found my self ware I was when i fust heared the man of God preach. At the age of 16 years I was Bound out as a prences to the mill right bisnes. My time was rof and hard som times in want of clothing and at times in wont of fud; in the latter part of my prentis ship I was drafted and went into the army of the unnited Stat cald the revolution war and I then was a gaine brot to reflect on my past life and thoght if I shold be kild wot would become of my pore sol. I then forme fresh ruselushings and promis if god wold spare me that i wold serve him and never live in the way that I had live heare to fore but I sune forgot the promises I had maid and becom much more of the wicket one. I was fond of cockfiting hores raising card plaing and two fond of fiting and seing men fight. Although I feared not man of Devil I frekently prom my self that I wold try to doe beter. . . .

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